The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1921 No. 2911

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 577
EDITORIALS:
No War with England—I. Reasons for Plain Speech 580
Morals and the Movies 581
Free Trade Against Selfishness 582
What Congress Ought to Do 583
The Critic and the Artist 583
Besoiled Athletes 584
MEXICO—1921. IV. CULTURE AND THE INTELLECTUALS. By Paul Hanna 585
REPEALING THE WAR LAWS. By Albert De Silver 587
SHOULD THE PUEBLO INDIANS BE AMERICAN CITIZENS? By Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant 588
SLAVERY IN GEORGIA, A. D. 1921. By Herbert J. Seligmann 591
THE DEATH OF LIMERICK'S MAYOR. By K. O'Callaghan 592
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 593
PRESIDENT WILLARD ON THE RAILROAD WRECK 594
CORRESPONDENCE 595
BOOKS:
In a Style of Steel. By C. V. D. 596
More American Chronicles 596
Books in Brief 597
DRAMA:
According to Sarcey. By Ludwig Lewisohn 598
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Is Egypt a Nation? III 599
Egypt's Position 605

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN
ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

THE *Vossische Zeitung's* charge of a secret treaty or an exchange of memoranda between England and France made immediately after the London Conference will, we hope, be promptly verified or discredited by questions in the House of Commons. Nothing anywhere else has appeared to confirm it, yet there are certain facts which give the story plausibility. Thus, no one could understand why Lloyd George permitted without a struggle the further invasion of Germany to which he had previously said he would never, never consent. It was suggested at the time that the French might have purchased his support by giving him a free hand in the East. As the *Vossische Zeitung* explains it, France has agreed to support Great Britain with her fleet if she is ever attacked by an overseas Power (this can only mean the United States), renounces her independent policy toward Russia, and declares herself disinterested in certain parts of Asia Minor, presumably Syria. The sequence of dates is very interesting in this connection. The London Conference with the Germans began on March 1 and ended on March 7. The British Admiralty announced on March 15 the cut in the budget for the coming naval year, and the very next day, March 16, the Russian agreement was signed. Curiously enough, we have just received a letter from London from a most reliable correspondent which reads thus: "The Russians do not yet understand how the trade agreement suddenly found its path smoothed. The British were insisting upon the clause against Bolshevik propaganda in Persia, Asia Minor, etc.; in return the Bolsheviki asked reciprocal guarantees for all the border states from Finland to China, which the British indignantly refused. Suddenly a compromise was arrived at and the whole thing went through to the amazement of the Russians."

NOT only did the Emperor Charles of Austro-Hungary negotiate secretly with France and England for peace in 1917—through the Princes Sixtus and Xavier—but he was in communication with President Wilson in 1918 with a similar object. The Paris correspondent of the New York *Tribune* has sent the hitherto unrevealed text of the correspondence, which consists of an opening letter from the Emperor Charles and an answer from Mr. Wilson. The Emperor took as a point of departure President Wilson's message to Congress of February 11, 1918, and expressed himself as in agreement with the principle that in territorial settlements peoples and provinces must not be moved about by rulers as "mere pawns." He approved of the declaration that economic war should be avoided in future and indorsed the suggestion for general disarmament. He admitted readiness for "entire renunciation of annexation and complete emancipation of Belgium." President Wilson replied cordially, asking for detailed suggestions in regard to a possible territorial settlement, particularly with respect to the Balkans and the Adriatic. "I can assure His Majesty that on my side there is the greatest readiness to take into consideration every solution he envisages," wrote Mr. Wilson.

THIS letter was received in Vienna and answered by the Emperor, but this reply was intercepted, and the correspondence ceased. The *Tribune* correspondent suggests that the letter was seized by officials of the Vienna court. This suggestion is naive. Such officials were probably sympathetic to the maneuvers, and in any case it is hard to believe that the Emperor lacked means to get his second letter beyond his own frontier. There is every reason to suppose that it fell into the hands of the Allied censorship, where it would have been suppressed, as the Allied statesmen were then determined that America should beat Germany for them, without any nonsense about humanity or justice. The correspondence is of no great importance, except as it reveals another handle by which peace might have been grasped previous to the autumn of 1918; but the Allies went wrong when they chose to regard the peace offer made by Germany late in 1916 as a "trap," and after America entered the struggle in the following spring they were determined to attain peace by conquest, at no matter what cost—to the United States or anybody else.

EASTWARD the course of sovietism takes its way. To understand the meaning of the announcement that the new Persian Ministry proposes to abrogate the treaty with Great Britain, one must recall that the former has recently concluded an agreement with Russia, which supersedes and makes no longer possible the earlier arrangement entered into with the British. The Russian-Persian treaty,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as reported, provides that no third nation shall have any political control or economic advantages in Persia. Specifically this means that Great Britain must withdraw its troops and surrender its hopes of industrial exploitation based on the Curzon policy. No fair-minded person should regret this, as the treaty was made behind the back of the League of Nations and, in its terms, is indefensible besides. When it comes to lying down with the British lion, that's not the kind of a Persian lamb it is.

PATRIOTS, where are you? We read with alarm that the New York Legislature has abolished compulsory military drill for all school boys in the State and without a single dissenting vote—merely to save some beggarly thousands. And what in the name of preparedness has happened to those vigilant twins, the National Security League and the American Defense Society, that they are not making the welkin ring with protests to Governor Miller because, on top of the abolition of compulsory schoolboy drilling, he has mustered out seventeen National Guard units in almost as many towns for the low and material purpose of saving $150,000? Is it not obvious that pacifist or pro-German or Red propaganda is undermining the State? We think a committee of the Union League Club should investigate this man Miller who has the effrontery to call himself a Republican as well as a patriot. We miss our guess if such a committee would not find it is all part of a nation-wide plot to leave us naked to our enemies. Certainly such craven happenings in the Empire State are having their effect upon miscreants like Senator Borah who now, having helped to whittle our 300,000 army to 150,000, declares that it must go down to 100,000, the same figure maintained before the preparedness campaign was begun. Worst of all, Senators Penrose, Smoot, and Curtis and Chairman Good, of the House Appropriations Committee, declare there is increasing sentiment in favor of large reductions in army and navy and that without them there can be no tax reform.

THE American Occupation in Haiti forbade a public meeting of the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, scheduled for March 27, the day of Secretary Denby's visit. But they permitted a "vaudou dance" in the market place of Port-au-Prince, which was carefully filmed by a battery of American motion picture photographers. It is important to note that the vaudouism of which much has been made by our imperialist propaganda as justification for anything we may choose to do in Haiti, has been encouraged by the American Occupation. Since the days of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haitian government has legislated against any exhibition of the fantastic and primitive rites practiced by a very small fraction among the most ignorant of the Haitian masses, and the Haitian civil code, for which American military law has been substituted since 1915, expressly forbade it. No such demonstration as regaled Mr. Denby on his recent visit had ever taken place in the Haitian capital previous to the American Occupation. The purpose of staging it at such a time is wholly clear. Incidentally, Mr. Denby landed on a Sunday morning and left Port-au-Prince early the next day. The Haitian newspapers report that he conversed for twenty minutes with Dartiguenave, the President who was imposed on the country by our Marine Corps, but that otherwise he talked with no responsible Haitians, with no member of the Union Patriotique, nor took the occasion to inform himself in any way of the Haitians' grievances. But a Washington dispatch printed in New York newspapers of April 5 reports that on his return "Mr. Denby said he made a careful study of the situation in Haiti and found the Marine posts well conducted and that a spirit of cordiality exists between natives and the devil dogs."

THE so-called Indian Citizenship Bill (H. R. 288) was last year, after two readings, placed in the hands of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and is likely to come before the new Congress. The object of the Act is simply to remove our Indian wards from their special status as privileged dependents under the law, to put them on the same plane of equality and legal responsibility as all other American citizens. The segregation of their tribal property is, of course, involved, but the formalities are few: a final roll call of the tribe to be taken within two years; a certificate of competence to be applied for by Indians of "one-half and over Indian blood"; within ninety days thereafter a pro rata division of property and funds to be made by a commission appointed by the President. The only Indians excepted from citizenship under this bill are the Four Civilized Tribes, the Osage Tribe of Oklahoma, and the Seneca Nation of New York. But the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico have appealed to Congress to be likewise exempt from citizenship and their appeal should receive particular attention and sympathy. It will be hard to sustain because the productive tracts of agricultural land held by the various Pueblo tribes since the Spanish days have given these Indians an enviable position in the State from which many citizens of the "higher races" will be all too ready to see them ousted, by fair means or foul. There is no doubt that the dice are heavily loaded against them by the appointment of Senator Fall to the Secretaryship of the Interior. Yet any honest consideration of their domestic, social, and economic condition reveals that these Indians who have been seventy-five years under our flag have not been in any real sense prepared by the education we have offered them to take their places as American citizens. Of their background and their culture, few of us have a clear impression: Miss Sergeant's article printed elsewhere in this issue should persuade our readers that they are worth studying and preserving.

WE earnestly trust that proper care of our war disabled will not be wholly dependent upon Brigadier-General Sawyer, lately homeopathic doctor of Marion, Ohio, to whom, the press reports, President Harding has "turned over" the "problem." Many of these veterans are well-nigh hopeless of relief and to deprive them of the well-known curative possibilities of psychotherapy by such an announcement merely aggravates their plight. The ghastly bungling of the Wilson administration in this, the foremost of its obligations, is the more conspicuous when one recalls *Carry On*, the official magazine issued during the war to tell the war cripples, actual and prospective, what fine things Uncle Sam would do for them. Now the tangle has become so serious that heroic measures are imperative. The very best talent that our country affords, in medicine—especially in the branches of orthopedic surgery and neurology, and in vocational training—particularly in the specialized forms such as reeducation of the blind—should be called in at once, red tape should be ruthlessly cut, and the redemption of the country's debt of honor undertaken without another hour's delay.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GENERAL CROZIER resigned his position as head of the Black and Tans in Ireland when certain of those miscreants whom he had dismissed for looting were reinstated by the worse miscreants who are guiding English policy in Ireland. He then went to that unhappy island as a civilian, and now after a month there returns to London with the report that what officialdom thinks about Ireland is absolutely at variance with what he found to be the case in his unofficial capacity. In a letter to the London *Times* he urges immediate action if Ireland is to be saved at all. Obtain peace, he says, and the Irish will throw away their arms. But obtain peace by permitting the Dail Eireann to meet and function freely, by setting up a Committee of Public Safety, and by putting the administration of the truce in the joint hands of the Crown and of Sinn Fein. Let Ulster do as Ulster likes. After all this bitter struggle, he asks the Government, has it got the "murder gang" by the throat? "Allow Ireland to govern herself within the empire and she will get her own murder gang by the throat, but she will not help England to do it." "You talk to an ordinary, decent Irishman now about a 'murder gang' and he asks you 'which?'" It is too much to hope for the miracle which could give every official and soldier of the Crown an opportunity to view the situation in Ireland with his blinders off, but General Crozier, to whom Ireland and humanity already owe a debt, has at least shown that the plight of his class is not necessarily hopeless. The more reason, then, why the popular opinion of Great Britain should have done with the military and official blindmen who have brought the Empire to its present pass.

THE ex-Empress of Germany was beyond question exemplary in her domestic life. Indeed, nobody could better have represented the typical German Hausfrau of the bygone era than Augusta Victoria. When the Kaiser made his famous assertion that Germany wished her women to confine themselves to *Kirche, Kinder, und Küche* (church, children, and kitchen) no one could allege that his own home life was inconsistent with that theory of the rightful sphere of women. But she was a good mother and, as such, is said to have wept bitter tears over the first escapades of the Crown Prince. When the crisis of their joint lives came the Kaiserin was, of course, wholly unable by temperament, training, or knowledge to control the Kaiser or to exercise any influence upon the destiny of their country. He was the lord and master, she the obedient servant entirely devoted to him. There seems to be no doubt that this imperial pair spent a great part of the last year of the Empire on their knees in prayer. Both were utter anachronisms at that time, both utterly powerless, if not pitiful, in the tragic train of events which the Kaiser had permitted, if not encouraged, to come over Germany. To die in exile, and practically in prison, after such a life of self-satisfied majesty is tragedy indeed.

THE principle of normalcy could not find a more perfect expression than it has in the appointment of Brother-in-law Heber Votaw, one time Second Adventist missionary in India, to the exacting position of Superintendent of Federal Prisons. The highest office in the gift of the people may be an appalling responsibility, but it is, on the side, also a gorgeous opportunity to pay one's political debts and to take care of worthy members of the family. It appears that the best of sons is also the best of brothers-in-law. Pastor Heber is asked to pick his job and, having a heart as big as the bounds of the Second Advent church and a professional reliance on the willingness of Providence to see him through, he asks for and is granted the custody of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. It will be distinctly a missionary enterprise. Mr. Votaw is represented in the press as having chosen the office "as a means of continuing the sort of work he did in the East." He has read: "I was in prison and ye visited me not." He will repair the omission. It is true that a trained penologist had to be displaced to make room for him, but lives there a man with soul so dead that he would not prefer a beautiful exercise of the domestic virtues to such a super-normal thing as competency in office? We trust no one will be so impertinent as to suggest to the President that there is a science of criminology, based on a century of study of the delinquent and the mental and social processes that have made him what he is; that there are many men and women and numerous societies that have devoted years of work to the shaping of penological methods for dealing with the problem of crime; that in this case normalcy should spell science.

CUPID will have his way even where there is economic disaster. Austria with a deficit of 42 billions in a land of six million people, destitute of means to build sorely needed homes, and unable to feed its children, records 1,300 marriages on a recent Sunday in Vienna alone. In Berlin, too, the custom of marriage seems in no danger of dying out. There were 36,352 weddings there in 1913, which figure fell off to 29,111 in 1918. But the return of the surviving soldiers changed that so greatly that there were 51,892 marriages in 1919 and 53,691 in 1920. The officials in charge of the license bureaus testify that to an unusual degree these marriages are based on material reasons rather than pure affection. It is easier for a couple to get a home than for a single man, and there is greater economy in doing one's own cooking than living in restaurants. Again there is an increase in the number of marriages of men and women wage-earners who go right on with their accustomed tasks. No one who has a job gives it up. As for the other side of the picture, there has been an enormous increase in divorces—there were 30,000 in 1919.

NOW is the gladsome time of year when robins and such things appear; when spring leaps briskly from her nap and flings old winter off her lap. Now marbles roll along the street and trouble all the adult feet; while over every vacant lot the yelling keeps the welkin hot. Somewhere Babe Ruth is getting fit to break his record and to hit a hundred times more homers than his best admirers think he can. The poets, too, are sharpening their vocal cords so they can sing of birds and buds and bees and booze, and not a word of grub or shoes. The young man's fancy lightly turns to tender notions, and he yearns for maidens tender as his notion and rapturous as his devotion. The sun himself is gay and bright, and wishes it were never night; whereas the moon is bright and gay and wishes it were never day. The seedsman catches in his toil all hungry lovers of the soil; and now the greedy hardware clerk sells hoes and rakes—and calls it work!—by grosses and by scores and dozens to all the world and to his cousins. Why, such a stir is in the season that we all romp without a reason; and even prosy pens beat time and frolic off in casual rhyme.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No War With England

I. Reasons for Plain Speech

MANY people nowadays are saying foolish things about Anglo-American friendship. They are enlarging upon a sentimental attachment supposed to have been aroused by our association in the Great War. They are talking offensively about an assumed superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and his Kultur. They are pretending that the British Government is above criticism by citizens of the United States, and the government of the United States by subjects of the United Kingdom. With much ceremony of after-dinner speeches and "hands across the sea" they combine to cast into the outer darkness, consecrated to the Sinn Fein-Bolshevik-pro-German, anyone who disagrees with the Temperamental Tory about any public policy. By this stupid behavior they imagine that they are giving reasons against a war between Great Britain and the United States. As a matter of fact this flummery causes far more irritation than it cures. And it imposes upon the advocates of peace a quite irrelevant burden. Not because of such questionable assumptions must we avoid war. There are indeed many ties of blood and culture between England and America which war would tragically sever. But abhorrence of international hostilities rests now upon nothing less than the almost certain knowledge that another war between first-class powers would involve the destruction of civilization, if not of the human race. No person of sound mind in either country can think of another great war as anything less than a final catastrophe. Imagine the technical proficiency of the modern military machine, at the pitch of intensity which it had reached by the end of 1918, dropping upon the world those three drops of a poison we have invented to kill any man they touch; imagine the economic and social results which would assail those civilians who were unfortunate enough to escape the lethal gases and other mechanisms of murder, and you imagine utter devastation. We must not have war with England first and foremost because we must not have war. If there is any danger of war, we cannot afford to leave the duty of preventing it to the snobs, the sentimentalists, and the hystericals. Such a task is fundamental to all human welfare, and it deserves the primary attention of everyone.

If those in either nation who want a conflict are in an infinitesimal minority, why discuss the danger at all? Yet the danger is being discussed by persons who ought to know. Not long ago it was reported that the British Ambassador to Washington gave an interview in London to American newspaper men declaring the countries were drifting into war. The editor of *Fairplay*, the greatest shipping journal in England—and in the world—recently wrote: "Anything calculated to check the free passage of merchandise is bound to give rise to feelings which, if not heeded, are sure to lead to thoughts of war. . . . It is being quite openly stated by certain people, who seem to think that our relations with the United States can be made even more cordial by a little lick-spitting, that, whatever our treaty obligations, we could never fight against America. That may or may not be so. . . ." An article in the February *English Review* by Storm Jameson states: "It is easy to declare roundly that a war between this country and America is unthinkable. That statement argues nothing so much as an imaginative incapacity on the part of the sentimentalists who make it." And Mr. J. S. Ewart, senior counsel for Canada in the fisheries arbitration of 1910, was recently reported as saying in New York: "Unfortunately, not only are the interests of the United Kingdom and the United States different, but in some important respects they exhibit a tendency to clash. President Wilson has said that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry. When men in high positions say that the two countries are treading the path that leads to war we should be indeed foolish were we to deceive ourselves with the phrase: 'War between Anglo-Saxons is unthinkable.'"

It used to be the habit of the peacefully inclined to regard such statements with disdain. Because they did not want war, they did not want to talk about it. They thought that not talking about it was a sort of charm for preventing it. They called all those who pointed out the danger of war "alarmists" or propagandists for the armament interests. So they scoffed and turned the other way while the roots of war put forth sprouts and prepared their poisonous blossoms. The only persons who looked squarely at the possibility and reckoned with it were the ones who rather liked the prospect. And presently the war came, and the rest of us were roughly awakened from our dreams of peace and dragged into it by the hair of our heads.

We were fooled in this way because we assumed that war is caused by someone's conscious desire for it. An autocracy might be thrust into war by the will of its ruler, an oligarchy or plutocracy by the will of the ruling group. But a democratic nation would not fight unless it wanted to. The way for the United States to avoid war was therefore to cultivate a friendly feeling for all other peoples. And the best way to do that was to disregard the points of friction, to declare through thick and thin that there was no danger of war, and to discourage armament. For many years the majority of the citizens of the United States followed this policy. It did not prevent war, it did not prevent hostile feelings toward other nations, and it did not even prevent large armament. Now the militants and navalists are beginning to pipe up again. Rear Admiral Huse calls for a navy equal to "any two." Shall we denounce him and then turn away as before? Those who wish to prevent war in the future would do well to adopt a different strategy. They should not only be as harmless as the dove, but also as wise as the serpent. They should make it their business to know more about the causes of war, to know more about them in details and in special cases, and to deal with them more coldly and scientifically, than do the militarists. Most of those quoted in the paragraph above are apparently proceeding in accordance with this policy.

Good-will is valuable; much exists and more should be cultivated. But war between the United States and Great Britain will not be prevented by the good-will of the citizens of either nation. We can be as friendly as we please for the next ten years, and in the eleventh year something may happen by which one nation will so threaten the security of the other that most of the good-will is transmuted into bitter hostility. On the other hand, war between the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two nations will not be brought about by frank consideration of the causes of friction, or frank criticism of the policies of either. We can protest as much as we like about the treatment of Ireland, or Britain could protest as much as she liked about our treatment of Haiti, without causing the firing of a single shot. Only in case such stimuli to emotion masked a substantial economic interest would they serve the purposes of the war-maker, and then they would be augmented by many other situations ripe for the practiced hand of the propagandist. It is terrifying to imagine the case that could be made against either nation by a hostile commentator, should the occasion arise.

Once the war situation arrives, in such a way that there is no escape from its implications to the great economic interests concerned, it will be too late for good-will to do its work. We shall all be swept into the maelstrom. Our plain duty is therefore to begin at once, before it is too late, the careful analysis and the plain speaking that will be necessary to arrange matters so as to avoid a collision. What are these men of authority talking about when they speak of the danger of war? Any answer will involve prosaic matters like trade, shipping, oil, navy, finance. But with such a background, these matters should be the most interesting in the world.

In subsequent issues of *The Nation* we shall treat these subjects editorially.* We can, of course, make no attempt to cover their ramifications in any detail, but we do hope to draw the outlines of the picture. We shall waste no words in exhortation, but shall attempt to give simply the facts, with the consequences which arise from them. When the picture is once seen, it will be time enough for opinion.

* Next week's article will relate to British and American rivalry in World Trade problems. Subsequent issues will deal with Ireland, the merchant and naval fleets, oil, etc.

Morals and the Movies

WE have with us today another one of those modern crusades which in recent years have swept the country at frequent intervals and littered our statute books with needless, unenforceable, and vicious laws. Just now there is a stalking of legislatures from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, with intent to make the movies more moral by means of State censorship boards. Several States already have such bodies and others are beset with bills to create them. New York will probably have enacted such a law before this is published. In Kalamazoo the chief of police, spurred by "a delegation of clubwomen," has started in to enforce an old Michigan law of pre-movie days, which forbids the exhibition in picture form of any costume or act which would be illegal in real life.

Now it is not to be denied that there are many objectionable and some indecent motion-picture films; but every State has criminal laws adequate to deal with the latter, whereas experience has shown that the former are beyond the understanding or reach of official—or officious—censors. The indictment of our motion pictures by those who are demanding censorship is on two counts: the presentation of crime and the treatment of sex. Both counts are justified, but not one in a hundred of the accusers knows how or why; and neither will the censors. Again, it is sadly true that the movies do show an amazing disregard for human life. A "legitimate" killing is the act of almost every film hero. So just now it is the fashion to blame the motion pictures when boys commit crimes, and the youthful victims, following the fashion like everybody else, are adding their testimony to the theory. It used to be dime novels, the circus, and newspaper comics that got the blame. Every normal boy goes through the experience of the race; he has at some time an ambition to be a brigand or a pirate. Safety is not in ignorance of crime, and thus of life, but in counter influences of a better sort. A difficulty with some boys nowadays is not that they see bad movies, but that they see too many movies. Then, too, we have forgotten, perhaps, the example of so much adult delinquency in real life as well as in the films—the deliberate lawlessness of older people in the matter of the prohibition laws, for instance. Then, is it strange if the youth of today shows disregard for the sacredness of human life when its elders have reveled in a four years' recrudescence of bloodshed, when the State itself takes life?

What the motion pictures need is not morality through artificial respiration, but an atmosphere of more genuine art. Broadly speaking, the only immorality in art is untruth; particularly is this true of the wholesale killings. From that standpoint the movies are grossly and unforgivably immoral. Then, the film "drama of heart interest" is the lineal descendant of the cheap melodrama of a dozen years ago, and it is the contemporary relative of the fiction of our popular magazines. Together they are spreading the absurd sex doctrine that there is just one man predestined for every woman, and, vice versa, that the chief end of each is finding the other, and that subsequently there is nothing to do but live happily—and easily—ever after. In the movies and the magazines we are all handsome, healthy heroes, or dark, dire villains; there is no success but making money, and the shop girl preserves her virtue, not for virtue as its own reward, but to attain happiness by marrying a millionaire—although our newspapers do tell us that millionaires are not always happily wedded. The crime against art is the real crime of the movies; their tawdry, commercial, untruthful picture of life is the real immorality. Can any censorship touch this? Experience with literary and dramatic censorship is that it never has; the results have been either barrenness or absurdity. As Bernard Shaw has just written, after an absurd personal experience, "though the defenders of the censorship lean so heavily on the control of the drama by an ideal personage . . . yet the nature of the institution is such that the best of censors cannot do perceptibly otherwise than the worst."

Another trouble with censorship is that it is purely destructive. It expurgates and deletes but it never creates. It may lengthen a few petticoats and shorten a few kisses; it may banish a few brass knuckles, or squeeze some drops of blood from a film. To create better pictures we must put this most commercialized of all the arts in the hands of artists. We must give the artist at least as much control over his art as he had in the Dark Ages. One way to do this is through the ownership of picture theaters by schools, churches, labor unions, and other organizations. This makes possible a censorship by selection and by demand—the only effective or legitimate kind. Morality is more than a vacuum; art is something beyond an assertion of "Thou shalt not."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Free Trade Against Selfishness

WE wish that everybody who thinks it necessary for the United States in this emergency to slap on additional protective tariffs might be compelled to read Mr. Thomas W. Lamont's statement of the present financial situation of the Government in the March *Harper's Magazine*. For ability, for clear-cut analysis of the problems confronting Mr. Harding, for a vivid, forceful setting forth of his facts, we have seen nothing to surpass it and little to equal it. What is particularly surprising is that from out of the House of Morgan should come so clear a presentation of the tariff situation, so complete a laying-bare of the whole protection humbug. True, Mr. Lamont prescribes swaddling clothes for a few—a very few—infant industries; he believes also that for war reasons it is necessary to build up by artificial feeding certain trades such as various chemical lines. But beyond that he is so opposed to tariffs as to make it certain that he will be charged—if he has not already been—of still being in receipt of income from the British Government, this time to put over free trade—precisely as the editors of *The Nation* used to be accused of taking Cobden Club gold. Whether he is attacked or not, the fact remains that he has rendered a public service which deserves to be widely noted.

Primarily he points out that throughout our entire history until 1914 we were a debtor nation. Since then our situation has been reversed. We are now a creditor nation and we shall be bound and delivered "by the economic and commercial laws that govern creditor nations." We cannot, Mr. Lamont sees, pile up credits "without further disarranging our own and the world's markets." We cannot sell and merely import specie in payment for our goods. We must *buy* abroad as well, and that, he rightly thinks, must tend toward freer trade. Indeed, he looks forward, like the free trader, to that "ideal status for the world" when our country shall seek "to produce those things which it can produce cheapest and best, and to exchange those things for the products of other countries which those countries are able to produce better and more cheaply than we." With this ideal before him he naturally cannot stomach the old protection sophistries. He wonders how, under Heaven, a high protective tariff can stimulate a trade that is down and out; how "dumping" can be prevented and, at the same time, one billion dollars in customs be made to flow into the Treasury, and how foreign imposts may be collected after imports have been shut off. Best of all he sees that the tariff problem is not to be solved by mere scientific methods—our noble scientific Tariff Commission to the contrary notwithstanding—because the tariff is "an economic and not a scientific problem."

Of course he could have gone much further. In America the tariff is largely not an economic problem but a question of privilege pure and simple. It is chiefly a matter of seeing who can get his feet into the trough and keep them there longest. Now that Mr. Harding is in office and Big Business feels that it once more owns the Government it is proposing to go back to the old Payne-Aldrich tariff that the American people so emphatically rejected in 1910. Some of these protected manufacturers have had, despite excess-profits taxes, years of amazing war-prosperity of which they never dreamed; yet here they are again, asking the Government once more to keep the American people from getting cheap foreign goods and to help them heap up their profits—earned often by men working in two shifts seven days a week. Every hoary old argument will be trundled out, every appeal to cupidity and patriotism made; and then if the tariff goes through we shall once more be wondering how certain favored citizens pile up their riches and why the cost of living continues to stay up.

Well, happily for America, the old argument that the tariff is necessary for revenue has been exploded by the war, during which the Government found plenty of means of augmenting its revenue from other sources. In 1914 our customs revenue comprised 292 millions of dollars out of a total Government income of 734 millions. In 1920 the customs brought in only 323 millions of dollars out of a total income of $6,695,000,000. The total tariff revenue in 1921 will perhaps not pay one-half of our naval bill. If we stopped our senseless building of more battleships we could take off every customs impost and not feel the loss. Thus the customs revenue excuse has been exposed for the hollow sham it is.

Mr. Lamont, we are glad to record, will not be surprised if the new Congress should "find the difficulties of thoroughgoing tariff revision so great that they may abandon any immediate attempt at it." Already Washington hears that the President is alarmed at the number of Senators and Congressmen who are planning to introduce measures protecting this manufacture or excluding that agricultural product. But if there are any in Congress who think deeply they must see that our Allies who owe us some ten billions of dollars or more must pay us by goods—precisely as Germany can only pay by goods and not by gold the indemnities to be assessed upon her—and that this process will hardly be simplified if we pile on import taxes. Congressmen will be asked to aid our merchant marine. But how can that be aided if we shut out the goods with which war-torn and half-starved Europe will seek to buy food and fertilizers and implements from us? Indeed, from whatever angle the world's problem is studied today the clearer it must be to all thoughtful men that what the world is crying for now is freedom of trade. The hope of civilization is the leveling of every artificial barrier to traffic between States. Every such barrier postpones the day of recovery, just as every time the French advance the customs houses they have erected in Germany they strike at her ability to pay just indemnities, they block the normal processes of trade to their own disadvantage. In this case protective tariffs are plainly becoming an instrument for subjection, if not for oppression. The French will find, we believe, that financially they will help them hardly at all. The Germans will deal elsewhere.

Freer trade with us, Mr. Lamont feels, will come very slowly and gradually. If that is so it will be, then, because Mr. Harding fails to rise to his opportunity, fails in vision, fails in charity. It will be because the selfishness of the few and of the privileged is once more to dictate American policy. Free trade fights always against selfishness and self-seeking, but today America's protectionists deliberately seek to push ally and foe alike deeper into their economic slough of despond. How can the world pull itself together—even in England they are passing protection laws—if every country is to erect a Chinese Wall against every other?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Congress Ought to Do

AS we go to press Congress is listening to the first serious message of President Harding delivered in person—doubtless by way of compliment to his predecessor. Congress is facing, so the headlines read, the gravest problems of any similar gathering in many decades. Perhaps; but one thing is certain—it faces unparalleled opportunity. Primarily, of course, there is the need of peace with Germany brought about in such a way as to deal fairly with those whose property has been confiscated and business interrupted. This needed peace, we suppose, Congress will now declare without loss of time, and, we hope, without any Congressional declaration of readiness on the part of the United States to run to the aid of our Allies at any time in the future in which they may again become embroiled, either with our former enemies or with each other.

Next, the world needs at once a conference for disarmament and we an immediate negotiation with Japan and Great Britain for a cessation of naval building pending an international gathering for universal disarmament. As an earnest of this the proposal of Senator Penrose and Senator Borah to cut our army to 100,000 men and to reduce the navy expenses should be adopted as a matter of course. As for Russia, Congress should lose no time in sending a Congressional Committee to that country to see for itself just what the conditions are and to ascertain if there exist valid reasons why England should trade with that country and not the United States. The ratification of the Treaty with Colombia and the payment to her of the proper indemnity for our theft of the Panama Canal Zone—a theft freely admitted by the man responsible, Theodore Roosevelt—is an act of national good faith far too long delayed. Regrettable as is the opposition to it, uncomfortable as is the report that it is now being secretly coupled with concessions to certain big business interests, it is none the less an act due our national honor. In no other way can a bloody spot be washed from our hands.

Then, nearer home, there is an even more notable act of justice to be undertaken. Senator Johnson has already introduced into the Senate a resolution of inquiry into our deeds in Haiti and Santo Domingo. In those republics we have committed a deadly sin against our own democracy and our own fair name. We have shed innocent blood and torn down governments that never offended against us. We have set up the German policy of might above right. Here, too, there is no time to be lost; the investigation promised by Senator Johnson and others should not be delayed a day.

Coming to domestic problems, there are the tariff and tax revision. We heartily agree that the latter is necessary. The excess-profits tax does not work as it was expected to; it has become confused with an actually wise and defensible war-profits tax. Indeed, the whole question of the financial policy of the Government is to be determined. Shall we, like the generation of the Civil War, place the burden of paying for this terrible epoch of destruction upon generations not yet born, or shall we manfully disarm and take some of the billions now wasted on armaments and wars past and future to pay off the steady accumulation of debt? Enormous bonded indebtedness is coming due in the next eighteen months. A clear-cut, constructive vision of the whole financial situation is as much demanded of Congress as of the Executive. As for the tariff, we want no emergency tariff bills and no general tariff revision. We want the whole matter laid on the table, to be studied in connection with the greatest issue of all—the economic reconstruction of the distracted world. It is the time above all others for tariff barriers to be leveled, if only in the interest of international peace.

Nor does this exhaust the role of the many constructive measures to which Congress could devote itself had it the requisite efficiency, knowledge, and heart. Our whole merchant marine is in a dreadful mess. We must decide if the Government is or is not to stay in the shipping business. Every port restriction should be lifted, and every legitimate aid given—especially in the matter of freeing our ships from the prohibition law when at sea. Then there is the housing situation; a nation-wide famine exists; the building industry is all but prostrate, and Senators who have been investigating declare that only national aid can save the situation. Great bodies of women cry out for the Sheppard-Towner bills of special interest to their sex. Last but not least there is need of an entire reorganization of the Government departments for the cutting out of duplication, waste, and inefficiency. An army of clerks can be discharged to the benefit of the Government and of the Treasury. The country eagerly looks forward to action. Can the topheavy Republican majority be held in line and both houses made to function? The next few weeks will tell the tale. And upon what they unfold will be based the reputation of Mr. Harding, his Cabinet, and the Sixty-Seventh Congress.

The Critic and the Artist

THE notion of a necessary connection between the critical and the creative functions has rarely been entertained in America. Our older critics and historians of literature made it a vigorous custom to mention none but the dead and gave their struggling contemporaries the barren consolation that posterity would be just. This custom was wholly derived from England. In France and Germany the danger has often been the contrary one and critical theory has, during many periods, shot beyond creative practice. Today the makers of a vigorous young literature among us turn to criticism a not unhopeful if not wholly trusting eye. They are often touchingly humble. Their very crudities and imperfections constitute a silent question. What answer do they receive?

From the group of critics which, by a strange irony, is the self-appointed guardian of the national shrine, they meet with irritated repudiation. They should not be what they are. The frank absurdity of such an attempt to stop the cosmic processes with a monkey-wrench renders it negligible. But other and wiser and more liberal voices do not often present to the poet, the novelist, the playwright, a more fruitful message. They are sympathetic, they are benignant. Their councils, however, can be summed up in the Horatian maxim to turn over the great Greek exemplars by night and by day. And they are impelled toward a certain insistence on this point because one or two of the very liberal critics to whom our younger men of letters actually turn, do not, in fact, make enough of the classics and seem themselves often at the mercy of tempestuous prejudices and perverse moods. Thus one, with all the resources of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his energetic mind and athletic style, announced but the other day that poetry must always be puerile because it is neither as intellectual as prose nor as abstractly emotional as music.

The advice to turn to the classics is, clearly, healthier and more saving than that. But it must not be given in the spirit of the rhetorician; it must not regard the classics as norms of practice but as examples of the creative spirit in action. There is the critic who is learned in the Homeric controversy and in the versification of Shakespeare as an historical test. It is not he who can make the classics seem either friendly or useful. But there is another critic who knows how, on a certain night at Tibur, the Falernian stung the palate of Horace and his friend Thaliarchus, who has shared the pang of Dante's heart when the vision of the living Beatrice Portinari had so shattered the poet that his friends feared for his life, who has caroused with the young Shakespeare and Falstaff and their friends at some gabled tavern, who has been with Goethe at Sesenheim and in Venice and has dreamed with Shelley of the liberation of mankind and worshipped Emilia Viviani at her convent gate. This critic understands how such experiences grew into the works of art that express and commemorate them. He has lived with the classics and looked into his own heart and has mastered the character of the creative process itself. It is by virtue of this knowledge that he can guide others in the transmutation of life into art, in both the freedom and the self-discipline that are involved, in the realization of their personalities through an expression that shall have a timeless accent, in the embodiment of their unique and necessary aims.

The artist, then, should be taught to live with the classics. But he should live with them in order, if possible, to become a classic in his turn. And often he can live with them best by imitating their example but neglecting their works. "Nous voulons la beauté nouvelle!" exclaims a remarkable young French poet. In order to be like the classics he repudiates them. To him as to them the world is new and beautiful and tragic and inexpressibly his own. This day and its experiences are his; this morning is the beginning of the world.

> Et si je danse sur les tombes
> C'est pour que la beauté du monde
> Soit neuve en moi tous les matins!

It is this living spirit of the freedom of all great and original literature that our critic will seek to communicate to his contemporaries. His understanding of it will also guide him in his opinions of work accomplished. Amid the heavy standardization of thought and taste and ethical reaction that often weighs so heavily on our national life, he will guard and direct every precious flicker of personality and never tire of driving home the force of Goethe's maxim:

> Ursprünglich eignen Sinn
> Lass dir nicht rauben!
> Woran die Menge glaubt
> Ist leicht zu glauben!

But he will never lose sight of that creative process by which alone such originality of vision can become art. There must be, not this or that form, but form; not this or that technique, but organization. For raw experience is meaningless save to him who has felt it. Art is communication. Its symbols must be both concrete and universal. It speaks for one, but its voice must reach mankind.

Besoiled Athletes

AT last we know what has happened to Yale athletes and Yale athletics. We had supposed that the present depressing period of decadence and defeat was due to one of those mysterious cycles of decay that from time immemorial have affected tribes and nations. As Rome and Carthage and Greece and Egypt had their day, so had Yale hers, and as Yale went down there naturally rose the star of Harvard. Various minor reasons have been advanced to explain the disaster to New Haven's prestige. Secret society politics, social "pulls," the loss of "Mike" Murphy, the slow growth of the college, Percy Haughton, the abolition of "tap day"—these were a few. But now science has produced the real reason—science can solve any riddle. It is Mr. Eugene A. Crilly, "expert in chemistry of Litchfield County, Conn.," who has discovered that it is the exhaustion of the soil of Connecticut with the consequent decrease in nourishing food which is responsible for Yale's athletic disasters. Land sakes!

Now the satisfactory thing about this explanation is that *it explains so much.* Dr. Crilly with one swoop throws a flood of light upon many matters. Obviously Yale men are more truly freemen than we had believed. They plainly do not buy meat from the Chicago Beef Trust, or potatoes from the South, or wheat from Dakota, or salmon from Alaska. Connecticut for the Elis is their motto and patronize home industries their creed. Then, when we were in college we heard so much about Yale grit and Yale sand —which we knew to be absorbed internally on Yale Field in allopathic doses—that we can well realize that with the impoverishment of the soil of New Haven it is too much to expect that her athletes of today should show the fire and determination of old. Dr. Crilly knows how to remedy this; he beseeches Gov. Everett Lake to urge the Legislature to extend the Reclamation Act by enabling the State to furnish lime and legumes to all tillers of the soil and thus to restore the ancient prestige of Yale. Alas, poor Governor Lake! What is he to do? A veteran Harvard half-back, if he refuses he will be charged with deliberately trying to sabotage Yale for Harvard's benefit. If he consents to fertilizing Yale, the wrath of all Harvard's alumni will fall upon him. It will not do for him to wriggle out by saying that the soil of Massachusetts is as unfertile and that there are as many rock-bound abandoned farms there. "It is impossible," Dr. Crilly insists, "for athletes from Yale, Trinity, or Wesleyan to be properly trained unless they are fed with proper legumes and receive adequate vitamines."

Well, we are sure that loyal Yale will rise to the occasion. It will not only recruit Western-fed athletes (now quoted at $2,000 to $2,250 f. o. b. cold storage cars at Kansas City or Portland, Oregon) and provide all the vitamines, legumes, nitrates, humus, guano, phosphates, and lime that Connecticut needs for fifty miles around New Haven, but it will pay special attention to the Yale Bowl. If the soil of that is not a hundred per cent fragrant and vital by next fall, we miss our guess. Grit and sand? Why, the beaches of Black Rock will be stripped twelve inches deep.

Already we are accepting odds of 7 to 5 on next year's Eli football team. And, come to think of it, now we know why Yale has just chosen as her new president a corn-fed native of Michigan. No played-out Connecticut lime or nitrogen in him!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexico—1921

IV. Culture and the Intellectuals

By PAUL HANNA

GOVERNOR COMO SELLAMA, of the state of X, began at the bottom and fought his way up. It was a long, hard struggle, but the masses were with him and at the end of ten years the peons had their land and Sellama was Governor. The people loved him, but the Governor nursed a secret sorrow. Envious tongues whispered that he could not read or write, and rivals made malicious jokes about it. So the Governor sought seclusion for many days, and then emerged to address a large meeting of his followers. "And the enemies of human liberty," he exclaimed at one point, "now say that Governor Sellama cannot write his own name. This wretched slander must be refuted! Behold!" And turning to a blackboard set for the purpose, the chief executive wrote his name with a splendid flourish where all could see. Passionate cheers swept up from the audience, dwindling at last to the voice of a barefoot peon: "Bravo, Governor! Now let us see you write, 'Viva Mexico!'" Hopeful silence fell upon the crowd, until the Governor crushed his chalk-stick underfoot and cried: "Begone! I am not here to satisfy every ignoramus in the state!"

Nearly 80 per cent of the Mexican people were illiterate ten years ago. Friends of the revolution confess that a full 5 per cent more are illiterate today. Civil war impoverished public treasuries, closed many of the few schools permitted by the Diaz regime, and encouraged human impulses more primitive than the desire for culture, which thrives only amid peace. Yet if land-hunger was a mainspring of the long rebellion it was because through ownership of land the peon knew he would acquire some of the material means and leisure that are essential to education.

Consider again Morelos state, home of the Zapatistas and maelstrom of the agrarian revolt. Only 5 per cent of its surviving inhabitants are literate. But it has set the pace in educational renaissance. Its destitute people set up school houses of 'dobe and thatch before they repaired their shattered homes after Carranza fell. In July of last year 1,165 boys and 860 girls were instructed by sixty teachers in its forty-one schools. By January of this year there were 2,675 boys and 1,776 girls being taught by 158 teachers in 108 schools. Twenty-five thousand pesos' worth of elementary textbooks have been acquired and half of them already distributed free. In the capital city of Cuernavaca the Federation of Labor has opened a branch of the Institute of Social Science, the largest free classes of which are devoted to the three R's. Smaller and more isolated than Morelos is the state of Colima. Dr. Vasconcelos told me how the old men of Colima have learned this past winter to gather in the night schools and study the mystery of written words. "One is moved," he says, "by the sight of these bent figures peering through their spectacles at the alphabet which was hidden from their childhood."

Dr. José Vasconcelos, director of the National University of Mexico, began his public career as a revolutionist against Porfirio Diaz. His first love is the growth and play of the mind, for which there could be no broad place in his country, he knew, until political freedom and economic opportunity were established for the masses. To clear the ground for Mexico's mind and soul he threw himself into the revolution, visited the United States five times, as simple refugee or member of anti-Diaz juntas. "I have spent many brief terms in the prisons of both countries," he told me. "Good fortune always attended me, or perhaps I was not important enough to be treated worse," he smiles. He is less than forty years old—too young and busy to talk of his days spent in prison. To have been in prison for freedom's sake is not news in Mexico. Vasconcelos lives entirely in his ripening plan to abolish illiteracy in his native country, and then make it the very center of culture for the Spanish-speaking world.

"Under the Diaz Administration," he explained to me, "there were a few good schools in the principal cities, but nothing was done for the rural districts. Education was thus another special privilege, the same as wealth and political power. As a result of the revolution all this is changed. We shall devote all our first efforts to elementary education. The Government has sent to Congress a bill creating a Federal Department of Public Instruction which will have funds and authority to establish elementary and higher schools in every part of the nation. It provides for a budget of fifteen million pesos for use entirely outside the Federal District, which, added to the nine millions already available, will make a total of twenty-four million pesos, or twice the highest sum ever before spent in one year on education in this country. In Mexico we have no Carnegies to give the people library buildings, but all over the land we have an abundance of durable stone structures, very seldom used at present, which under our new educational law will be converted into libraries and schools equipped by the Federal Government. Instead of the old colleges in which literature and philosophy were taught, the Federal Government will spend every cent on elementary education and technical schools."

I was assured by others that Dr. Vasconcelos will be appointed Mexico's first Minister of Public Instruction. And he told me of the project to establish four branches of the National University in as many different quarters of the Republic, with faculties recruited from the world's best-known instructors and fed by a stream of exchange lecturers from the United States, Europe, and Asia. National educators elsewhere will envy Dr. Vasconcelos, I think, when it becomes known that the government printing plant of Mexico has been transferred entire to the National University, of which it is now an integral part. Ezequiel Salsedo, a veteran of the labor movement, is the director of public printing, and one happy task which now confronts him is the production of 100 new volumes authorized by Dr. Vasconcelos and designed to constitute what we may call Mexico's Fifteen-Foot Book Shelf. The list begins with the Iliad and Odyssey, runs through Plato and Shakespeare, continues to Ibsen and Shaw, and concludes with "ten notable works to be designated by the public." This and succeeding editions will be distributed free among the public libraries.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Vasconcelos speaks English well, delights in Bernard Shaw, and thinks "Tolstoy was the greatest man who has lived since Jesus." Had he read Gorki's Recollections of Tolstoy? I asked. "Yes; and I think them detestable," he answered. "They show you Tolstoy through the eyes of a vulgar man. Gorki could never understand Tolstoy, whose own books are enough revelation of the author." The ruthlessness of the Zapatistas repelled Vasconcelos. "No good can come of assassination," he insists. "Under Diaz everyone murdered because Diaz was a murderer. When Madero, the lover of peace, came into power his character softened the whole people. And today murder is not practiced in public life because Obregon is a pacifist, a general who will not wear his uniform. When he took office Mexico City swarmed with 'bandits' who had come here to lay down their arms and pledge their loyalty." Mexico's head schoolmaster rejects the tactics and program of the Russian Soviet Government, and praises what he terms the plan of Karl Liebknecht: "I would limit the size of private fortunes, but I would not open the door to laziness."

In New York there are many men and women who know Adolfo Best-Maugard, dreamer, artist, and designer of impressionistic ballet settings. From the high balcony of his studio in Mexico City one looks west to the castle at Chapultepec and east to Popocatepetl, mourning under a cloud of volcanic smoke for the white-shrouded Ixtocaihuatl, whom "Popo" slew when as a goddess she refused to marry him because she loved Orizaba. Best-Maugard loves all three of the Aztec deities that now are turned to mighty mountains. But more than all, perhaps because they need him so, he loves the unlettered boys and girls who come to his classes and perform marvelous things at the drawing board. The classes are free and the instruction very simple. "We begin with the short straight line and the little circle," he explains. "They spend a few days developing combinations of the one, then of the other; finally I ask my pupils to combine the straight line and the curve, and go as far as their fancy suggests. Look! Done by a girl after three weeks in class!" He holds up a drawing of a native girl in peasant costume against a familiar landscape. "You doubt it? Come to my class and see. It is in their blood and their fingers!" Don Adolfo ignores politics. When not at work he roams among the relics of his country's ancient civilization, lunches with Cabral, *Excelsior's* staff artist who did the fearful caricature of William G. McAdoo, or dines with stage folk and visiting men of letters.

It seemed fortunate that I had brought letters of introduction to prominent newspaper editors. They were hostile to the Obregon Administration. But they were "intellectuals" who could reveal the shortcomings of the new regime. They were intelligent, I knew, and honest, I believed. They were more difficult to reach than cabinet ministers, but that appeared natural; they clearly belonged to an older and higher order.

Mr. Rafael Alducin, editor of *Excelsior*, conversed graciously with me for a few minutes and then authorized his chief of staff, Mr. Espinosa, to give me those sidelights on men and issues that I desired. I would submit my queries in writing, and did I understand that the responses must be held as confidential, for my personal guidance? I so understood. During the next ten days I saw Mr. Espinosa several times, but the information that he and Mr. Alducin promised was never forthcoming. I was sorry for Mr. Alducin. His rival, Mr. Felix Palavicini, editor of *El Universal*, had frightened Mr. Alducin so thoroughly that the latter, I believe, did not dare keep his promise to me. Mr. Palavicini is Italian. He is young and therefore still able to make those sudden exits from Mexico which I have since learned is his custom. Withal, he is extremely competent. "I have no political views," he told me. "I am merely an editor, to whom publishing is a business, an industry." Perhaps I showed some pleasure at his confession. At any rate I said: "Then you are neutral in the political struggle here, and your opinion would be very valuable—a necessary balance to the views of friends and enemies of the Administration, which are so easy to procure." Mr. Palavicini smiled faintly, and his response was unanswerable. "When neutrals express their opinion," he said, "they cease to be neutral."

So I went away. And although Mr. Palavicini had suffered what he told me repeatedly had been an automobile accident the night before, and wore a bandage about his head as we talked, he still had strength enough left to insert in next day's *Universal* an item which read: "Mr. Paul Hanna, editor of the Socialist daily newspaper *The Nation* of New York, has arrived in this city. He is the guest of the Confederation of Labor." Above this item ran a heading which said, "News in a Few Lines." To be exact, four lines containing four lies! Quite deliberate, but very useful lies. I had wondered if the press which fights Obregon and the Labor Party hardest could be trusted. Now it was easier to make up my mind about that.

A sharp thorn in the side of both the editors I have mentioned is Celestino Gasca, who abandoned the cobbler's awl to take up the sword against oppression and who is now Governor General of the Federal District, by presidential appointment. And the more I saw of editors the more I liked Gasca. Gasca seldom writes for publication and told me he had grown tired of hearing speeches. He prefers to sit down with the barefoot men and women who come in droves to his office every day, and talk to them about their troubles. His manner is very quiet, his voice very low, and his smile very gentle. He is pure Indian, I think. "It takes only a few hours to hear them all," he said, referring to the mass of petitioners. "And they ask for so little! Often they want nothing at all, and have only made some excuse to come here. It is a new thing for them to be admitted here as self-respecting equals. They want to shake hands with the Governor General and convince themselves that Mexico is free. That is good; together we are uprooting the old sense of caste and making democrats of each other."

Perhaps Gasca does not belong to the intellectuals; he has so much more wisdom than education. He also has power. In his present office he can do things. "Words mean nothing to me any more," he told me, "but in acts there are great sermons." In this spirit the Governor General bade farewell to his last humble caller a few nights ago and then dictated a brief order calling for the distribution to various libraries and schools over the country of sundry books and educational supplies which had accumulated within his jurisdiction under administrations which felt that books were meant to be kept in storerooms. The institutions favored in this order were, the Official School of Cuetzalan; Official School of Cuitzeo de Abasolo; Municipal School of Tlatlauqui; Official School of Astatepec; Official School of Mexcaptepec; Public Library of Vera Cruz, and Library of the Society of Mutual Culture at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guadalajara. "In addition to these gifts," said the brief announcement, "the District Government is preparing the dispatch of books and educational equipment to other sections of the Republic in the hope that its efforts will bear appropriate fruit for the benefit of culture and the welfare of the nation."

At lunch with Governor Gasca in the Colon Cafe he told me the story of his life and struggle to help make Mexico free. He blamed no man and threatened none. Not a trace of bitterness, boasting, or thirst for revenge revealed itself. He asked for nothing but time and education to make his people prosperous and contented. And to promote this end he proposed no method but the propaganda of good deeds. In contrast with this mood, what are the enemies of Gasca doing and saying? Mr. Palavicini is their most distinguished spokesman. All Americans will be interested in the following "news item" taken from the pages of *El Universal:*

Through information received at the Department of Labor we learn that a large number of clergymen are about to arrive in Mexico City from the United States. Some of these are Catholics and others Protestants, and they all come with a view to organizing the Mexican workmen. The Catholic clergy of the United States as well as the Protestants have supplied these missionaries with an enormous sum of money, and they have been given *carte blanche* in its use for propaganda purposes. The Protestants have just issued a manifesto to the Mexican workmen and revealed themselves as genuine Bolsheviks, since they aim at the abolition of private property, the basis of present society, and the erection of a new state founded in communism. The clergymen from the United States will arrive in this city next week and thereupon begin their work.

Mr. Palavicini reads English perfectly. He knows that the "best minds" in the United States attribute all American unrest to Russian propaganda. Why not capitalize religious sentiment and make his readers believe that labor unrest in Mexico is caused by religious intrigue from the United States? The editor of *El Universal* belongs in Park Row. He has become Americanized.

Repealing the War Laws

By ALBERT DE SILVER

IT will be recalled that among the high resolves made by the perspiring but embattled Republican delegates in the Coliseum at Chicago last June was one to end the "autocratic war-time powers" of the Wilson Administration and restore the country to "the form of government provided for by the Constitution." This being interpreted in non-political language, was intended for a pledge to repeal the war laws.

When the short session of Congress convened last December the House of Representatives set about redeeming the pledge thus given, and on the seventh day of the session passed a resolution to suspend the operation of most of the legislation in question. The method adopted was to declare the war terminated for the purposes of any statute the operation of which was contingent upon the existence of a state of war. The resolution then went over to the Senate, where it lay dormant for some months, and was only brought out, amended, and passed five days before the end of the session. The House, because of the shortness of the time remaining, promptly concurred in the Senate amendments, and on the first of March repassed the resolution.

Now, the legislation passed by Congress to put the country on a war basis, besides mobilizing the military and industrial resources of the country, imposed certain limitations upon freedom to speak, to print, to communicate, and to travel. Let us take stock of Congressional action and see which of these restrictions have now been made inoperative, which have been removed permanently from the statute books, and which merely remain dormant, again to come into operation in the event of a future war.

The principal restrictions upon civil liberty brought by the war were contained in the Espionage Act as amended by the Act of May 16, 1918. Section 3 of Title 1 of that act as originally passed made it unlawful "when the United States is at war" to make false reports with intent to interfere with the operation of the military or naval forces, or wilfully to cause insubordination or mutiny in them, or wilfully to obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service. In addition to these provisions, Title 12 declared non-mailable any matter which violated the act, and empowered the Postmaster General to exclude it from the mails. By the subsequent amendments a number of further offenses were added, including obstruction of the sale of liberty bonds and the dissemination of "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the Government, the Constitution, the army or navy, the uniform, or the flag; or of language intended to bring any of them "into contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute." Moreover, by the amendments, the Postmaster General was given the further drastic power to refuse without notice to deliver any mail whatever to a person who had attempted to mail matter held to be non-mailable under the act, and to return it to the sender stamped "Mail to this address undeliverable under the Espionage Act."

The Espionage Act prosecutions and the Postmaster General's "whimsical censorship" over the mails have become familiar history. They teach such a lesson of the virtual certainty of a high percentage of injustice from such legislation that the need of taking it from the statute books once and for all should have been clear even on Capitol Hill. And to a certain extent it was, for the amendments of 1918 were repealed outright by the resolution in question. The original section, however, under which the greater part of the prosecutions were brought, together with the section authorizing the postal censorship, remains on the books. Under the terms of the resolution their operation is suspended and they lie dormant to be revived automatically and without further action by Congress in case of another war. And, remember, it will not take another world war to bring them back to life. A war with Mexico would do it or a formal declaration of war against Haiti or Santo Domingo.

Of the other restrictions upon civil liberty, two were imposed by the Trading with the Enemy Act. The first of these prohibited any person from carrying or transmitting to or from the United States any communication except through the mails unless it were first submitted to a licensing officer. The second required the publisher of every foreign language newspaper to submit a translation of each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issue to the postmaster at the place of publication prior to depositing the paper in the mails. The purpose of these two sections was obviously to prevent information useful to the enemy from slipping out of the country. That danger is now over. Congress, however, presumably because of the necessity for retaining control over seized enemy property, excepted the Trading with the Enemy Act from the resolution repealing the war laws. Accordingly both of these restrictions upon freedom to print and freedom to communicate are still in full force and effect. It is doubtful whether Congress specifically intended to retain these two pieces of restrictive legislation, but retain them it certainly did, and the result illustrates a certain carelessness of detail which frequently mars legislative action.

This Congressional failure to pay careful attention to detail is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the treatment of the Passport Control Act, which made it an offense, after proclamation by the President, for any person to leave or for an alien to enter the country without a passport. On February 24 last the House added a rider to the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, which purported to extend the duration of the act in so far as it related to incoming aliens, "until otherwise provided by law." On the next day the bill with the rider passed the Senate. Four days later the resolution suspending the operation of all the war laws, including the Passport Control Act, was passed by both houses. The action taken four days previously had been lost in the shuffle. A nice question is now presented as to whether or not by the subsequent passage of this resolution Congress has made provision otherwise by law and thus ended passport control altogether. The Attorney General has just handed down an opinion to the contrary, holding that the Passport Control Act as to incoming aliens is still in effect. Such an opinion from one of the executive departments of the Government was to be expected, and the matter will doubtless be tested in the courts. All that can now be said is that the question is by no means free from doubt and that it is not impossible that the courts may take a different view. But however that may be it is certainly clear, and the Attorney General so holds, that the resolution repealing the war laws has suspended passport control over American citizens leaving or returning to the country. Passports will doubtless still be required of American travelers by European governments, but in view of this Congressional action they should now be issued to any citizen by the State Department as a matter of course.

In the meanwhile it should not be forgotten that the repealing resolution has merely suspended the Presidential power to enforce passport control and that it can be reestablished by proclamation in the event of another war, great or small. It, like most of the war-time restrictions placed upon civil liberty, is not actually repealed but merely slumbers. Some perhaps would have thought it fitting that the American people should have been left free to choose which of these relinquishments of liberty were needed in the next emergency. But Congress—and the Republicans—have willed otherwise.

Should the Pueblo Indians Be American Citizens?

By ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT

THE church at San Felipe Pueblo stands empty after the Indian mass. It has two adobe towers, white and molded like dough—molded by some hand that foresaw how their heavy twisted open-work would look against a Chinese-blue mountain named for a watermelon. The church itself is long and narrow and white. It backs up against a black-browed hill ridged with lava; and the yellow horses painted on either side of the entrance door face the yellow Rio Grande.

On this first day of spring and May the apple trees are in bloom over orchard walls, and the cottonwoods along the river have feathered into shapes like broad candle flames; gold pale in the middle, pinkish red on the edges. One must have known the raw and barren winter to gauge the miracle of such flames in the desert: the madness of the scent of fruit blossoms; the strange vibration of this long double ribbon of Indian dancers, advancing in the hot sun of noon.

Hundreds of Indians from other pueblos have ridden over the red-ridged land to the plaza where the fertility of earth is being invoked. The plaza is sunk below a hollow square of squat, two-story houses. On the flatness of roofs, in the whitewashed shadow of loggias, rows of heads sternly bound in red and orange; thick lines of broad brooding shoulders, gorgeously blanketed; proud young chests upstanding against heaven in sapphire velvet shirts strapped with great belts of silver. And there, in a shrine built of blankets and boughs, where brown Elders sit hoarily on guard, stands San Felipe, a bowl of meat and bread before him, his staring Catholic eyes blessing the corn dance.

Brown legs and lithe brown bodies of men, black smocks and slim brown legs of women, all moving to the same dull beaten rhythm. Brown and black and green and robin's-egg blue; green and blue and brown and black, swaying and pulsating.

Soft, soft, still, still moves the woman, heavy-breasted, her head proud under its blue tablita, her bare toes just stirring the dust in measure. Bold, bold, free, free, moves the man, hurling his agile whitened knees, and the coyote skin trembles on his linen-girded loins. Side by side they move, pounding out the rhythm on the drum of the earth, winding their long dark coil of twos back and forward in the glare, while the gray delightmakers, clapping striped pot-bellies, stroking striped lank bellies, thread and leap their way between. The earth is a resonant skin stretched taut over eternity. The air is a hot cloud full of burning motes that mock the sun. Water, water, where is water? Pine boughs shaking, black hair waving, dull drums booming, voices crying, silver and wampum and turquoise rattling, long white banner fluttering its eagle feathers, dipping, dipping its pollen of parrot feathers over each dancer in turn.

Come rain, come rain.
Corn grow, corn grow.

And the urgent cry flows back into the gray antiquity of the New Mexican land until it is lost in sun and sand.

* * * * *

"What barbarians!" shudders an Eastern flapper at my side, endeavoring to turn her concealed camera on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dancers. "The very idea of making them citizens!"

An old Indian standing next her slowly turns a protesting head and slowly speaks:

"Pueblo no want to be citizen. You go Washington and tell President leave him free."

And the head turns away again, scornful and remote. This old man conceives a ward of the government to be more "free" than a "citizen," who pays taxes and quarrels with greedy neighbors. To him the barbarians are the Americans of this modern competitive United States, which he fears and understands not, the people who come in high-power cars to spy upon his ancient sacred dances. Interlopers in a country he has possessed since the beginning of time.

When the Spaniards arrived in the sixteenth century, they found the Pueblo living in many of these same sites, dressed in the same glowing colors, peacefully cultivating the same tribal fields with probably the same wise if rude methods of irrigation used today. In 1846 New Mexico and Arizona passed to the United States, but the treaty with Spain again confirmed the Pueblo in the title to his lands which he has continued to hold communally, in fee simple. That is why he has never been herded and driven from one Reservation to another, like the Plains Indians, whose loss of their hunting grounds meant a definite loss of personal and racial dignity and tradition. That is why he has been economically self-supporting—and self-respecting—instead of dependent upon debasing government gratuities. His ancestral share in a productive section of our continent—alluvial fields and forest tracts, adobe villages lost in the desert or on the high mesa—has preserved for him and for us his primitive yet highly developed agricultural civilization, with its beautiful handicrafts, and its immemorial ceremonies.

In the Spanish days, the Pueblos had a "Protector" appointed by the Crown to look after their special interests as opposed to those of the white man. Our Government has similarly assumed the protection of these as of other Indians in all practical affairs. The Indian agent, the attorney, the teacher have been intermediaries and interpreters for the Pueblo—intermediaries accepted by him as the price of spiritual and tribal detachment—in his dealings with the American world. Within the tribe he has been free to govern and administer justice in patriarchal fashion through his Elders, outside and beyond the jurisdiction of our courts; and—in spite of priests, missionaries, and teachers—to celebrate his primeval nature worship in any not too obviously "immoral" manner. But all his knowledge of our government and our institutions has been second-hand knowledge. For wherever Pueblo rights and privileges touch or conflict with those of his Mexican and American neighbors—in land sales and leases, especially the agent or the attorney must be called in. And this gentleman, honest or dishonest—though often genuinely devoted to the Indian's interest, he has the reputation of being often either an incompetent or a crook—has almost invariably treated his Pueblo ward as an irresponsible child whose opinions and decisions are of little or no weight.

"They are nothing but children"—on how many lips has one heard the kindly-contemptuous phrase in the Southwest. And in how many outer offices has one not seen these patient Children of the Ages waiting abashed in their blankets for red tape to unroll—abashed and bewildered, but feeling in their heart of hearts much surer than their patronizing, black-coated advisers where lie the eternal verities.

One must have seen the Indians of Tesuque, or Santa Clara, or San Ildefonso grinding their corn on stones, fetching water from the river in jars on their heads, cooking over a three-cornered open fire, sleeping on blanketed benches along the whitewashed wall, molding pottery vessels without a wheel. One must have shaken the claw-like hand of the ancient "governor" of Taos, as he squats before his fragrant pinyon fire, and heard his Elders, wrapped in their white robes, saluting the sunset from their high-piled roofs. One must have climbed the rocky path to Acoma and looked out over the wide and silent land at the Enchanted Mesa from a plateau where a few wild children, innocent even of the Spanish tongue, call shrilly and hide about a great empty church as big as a cathedral. One must, in short, have seen how the Pueblo lives and guessed dimly how he feels, and—this is very important—heard his American and Mexican fellow-citizens talk covetously of his rich farm lands to realize that to give him citizenship today would not be to do him a service.

It would rather be, so the Pueblo himself believes, so most of his friends in the region believe, to turn him into a pauper and a nomad. He has little ready money, little knowledge of business and law as practiced by white men, save that he is always cheated when he attempts a bargain and has, in spite of his special Indian attorneys, lost thousands of his precious acres through leases that were not "water-tight." He has little or no education; not more than half the adult males, it is estimated, can read or write English. His land, divided into individual allotment shares, would almost certainly be sold for taxes or "grabbed" by some of the "sharks" who have long been waiting for this glorious day. He would, with juries preponderantly Mexican, have practically no chance of fair play in the courts. If abstract justice is involved—and surely it is involved—we owe the Pueblo adequate protection for the next generation: until we have given him the sort of education and knowledge of the administration of affairs which would really arm him in the struggle for existence in a growing pioneer State.

The educational methods of the Indian Bureau have reinforced the idea—in his and his fellow-citizens' minds—that the Pueblo is a creature apart; without, however, giving him the benefit of that difference in a constructive and disinterested exploitation of his psychology and traditions. An American education of a rudimentary kind has been dispensed in separate ungraded day schools built on the edge of the villages and in one large boarding school in Santa Fé where, in addition to formal schooling, a little farming, household arts, sanitation, and certain trades have been taught to such boys and girls as could be induced to attend. The Indian children have been allowed also to go to Catholic schools. But as education has never been compulsory and has frequently been stoutly resisted, some pueblos still lack day schools and in others these institutions are not ten years old. Santa Domingo, the third most populous (and one of the richest) of the pueblos, has had a school only seven years and until lately has refused to send pupils to Santa Fé. The influence of a few fine women teachers who date a generation back can still be deeply measured in places like Santa Clara and Taos, and the influence of the day- and boarding-schools is telling progres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sively with some of the young men. But the uncertainty of the teacher as to what he or she was educating the Pueblo *for*—for perpetual wardship, for citizenship?—must have greatly undermined the value of Pueblo education as a whole.

There seems no unanimity of opinion on this point within the Indian Bureau itself. One very intelligent leading educator told me he was "trying to make a better Indian"—not an American. Another, less leading, exclaimed with horror when asked to allow his pupils to sing an Indian song. "We can't allow anything like that." And so the dark-skinned pupils who had been made to feel vaguely ashamed of their own culture chanted—with evident lack of understanding of anything but the rhythm—that good old English ballad, "Johnny's so long at the Fair." Another important official told me that his aim was "to destroy all distinction between Indian and American"—to this end he believed in discouraging religious dances and allowing the beautiful Indian churches, which are historically and artistically of first importance, to go to pieces "because they represent all we are trying to eliminate."

On the whole, one may take it that the Indian Bureau has stood for a not very enlightened but very well-meaning sort of Americanization, just as the Smithsonian, working at cross-purposes with its fellow Government Bureau, has stood for conservation of Indian folk-lore and archaeology. And one finds the same disparity of view among the unofficial friends of the Pueblo in the Southwest. Those of the artist race holding that the Pueblos should never be citizens, should rather be preserved like our national parks, government wards in perpetuum in their little islands of primitive culture: a source of absorbing interest to artists, archaeologists, and ethnologists. The "practical people," on the contrary, urging that the only ultimate and happy fate for the Pueblo is absorption and Americanization.

But even the latter, the advocates of Americanization, feel keenly that the Pueblo is entitled to a period of adolescence instead of being plunged directly from childhood into manhood. Dissolve the antiquated Indian Bureau, if you like, they say; it has not changed its cumbersome methods since Jefferson's day. Put the Pueblo children under the National Bureau of Education, into the public schools where they will grow up equals among equals, knowing the ways of their Mexican and American compeers. Turn over the tangled legal affairs of the Pueblo to the National Department of Justice. But do not divide the Pueblo's lands and disrupt his social system by giving him citizenship for twenty-five years at least. Give him, rather, during that period, a "Protector": not a "political appointee," but a really big-minded person of vision and competence, a Pueblo Hoover let us say, with an adequate salary and very much broader local powers than are allowed under the present centralized system. This hypothetical person—who might well be a woman, if some young man who has found no outlet for his idealism since the war did not jump at the job first—should undoubtedly be familiar with modern psychological and educational theory and apply the knowledge in such specialized education as was found necessary. It could probably be paid for, as better medical services could be paid for, from Pueblo funds, provided the Indians were helped to lease all tracts of alluvial land which they cannot themselves cultivate, and to exploit their forest land, now largely neglected. The "Protector" should get their many pending land claims settled; should really bring home to Indians of both sexes whatever knowledge of hygiene, of farming, of business would increase the health and efficiency and productivity of the tribe; and should foster, for the pride of the Pueblos and the advantage of America at large, the very rare craft technique which has had, up to date, more encouragement from the Harvey Brothers and the Santa Fé Railroad than from the Indian Bureau, and is therefore inevitably beginning to conform to commercial standards.

There is no question, indeed, that unless the younger generation is taught respect for native arts, the more precious hereditary secrets of glaze and dye and weave will be lost within a few years. The material used is increasingly poor; the glaze of the black pottery now turns white with use. Such little craft teaching—in basketry, for instance—as one sees in the Indian schools has the public school instead of the native stamp. Will the next step be to teach the Pueblos Russian folk dances, because they are being taught in New York? The Italian lace and linen industries had fallen into much greater disuse when they were revived fifteen years or more ago, and are now again flourishing. So it is not too late to save the Pueblo industries if we can only come to realize how valuable they are. The paintings of their dances which the young Pueblos are beginning to make under the influence of the Southwest Artist Colony are a very interesting commentary on their powers. Their response to this stimulus has been real and immediate, and more direction of spontaneous native energies into new channels might well quicken their rather slow and halting intellectual development.

The fate of a few thousands of Pueblo Indians will probably arouse very little interest in our many millions. America is a reckless squanderer where small racial units are concerned, and the cause of any Indian race seems a priori a lost cause. Yet justice and the faith of these simple self-respecting folk in a benevolent Uncle Sam, who has, first and last expended considerable sums in providing them with teachers, lawyers, doctors, and farm machinery, should not be lightly set aside. Moreover, if we were going to scrap the Pueblo civilization, consign it to the general Indian ashheap, better have done so in 1846 than in 1921, when there are signs that the greatest and richest country in the world has at last reached the point of creating an American culture. Is there not, on a purely selfish, if not on an altruistic basis, solid reason for conserving and protecting the only Indian race that has, as by a miracle, survived in its original state to the twentieth century?

Contributors to This Issue

PAUL HANNA'S fifth article in the Mexico—1921 series, entitled Relations with the United States, will appear in the next issue of *The Nation*.

ALBERT DE SILVER is a member of the New York Bar and chairman of the legislative committee of the New York City Club.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT was an American correspondent in France during the war and is the author of "French Perspectives."

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN is the author of "The Negro Faces America," the most important contemporary contribution to the discussion of our colored race problem.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Slavery in Georgia, A. D. 1921

By HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

ONE night in Atlanta, just before John Williams was put on trial on a charge of murdering Negro peons on his farm in Jasper County, I sat listening to the story of Addison Fuller, an old colored farmer. He had fled to the city leaving behind wife and children and all possessions. He had come after a deliberate attempt had been made to enslave him, to force him, after imprisonment and brutal beating, to work off an entirely fictitious debt to a white planter; and after a white man had tried to seduce his wife. The story came out slowly. We were sitting on the verandah of a house near Atlanta University. Overhead were starlit skies. Across the street in a frame house colored people were dancing to a phonograph. We were in an American city, in the midst of American civilization, and the story this slave told in soft tones, without bitterness, seemed all the stranger for the popular dance tunes which accompanied it from across the street.

There had been a brutal beating. Fuller was caught as he tried to release his children from the captivity he had escaped. The white planter who enslaved Addison Fuller told the sheriff after the capture that he "wanted that damn nigger whipped," and so one white man held Fuller's feet, another man held up his clothes, and the planter stood over him with a drawn knife. All this is in an affidavit submitted to the United States Attorney in Atlanta; but not that the sheriff beat him with a leather buggy trace until he was wet with perspiration and then took off his coat saying that he had not half begun the whipping.

It was almost an unbelievable tale this gentle-voiced old dark man was telling. But it is not an exceptional one. White men in Newton County freely admitted that peonage was general in Jasper County. And an officer of the United States Government out of his own detailed and accurate information told me that the terrible murder cases in Jasper County differed not in kind, only in the number of victims, from Negro slavery practiced throughout rural Georgia. Later I heard white men, in speaking of paying fines of Negroes convicted of petty offenses, refer to the transaction as "buying niggers"; for the Negro so released from labor on the chain gang is expected to work off the amount of the fine and as much more as his white boss can make him. This was the situation of many of the Negroes on the farm of John Williams. It is at this moment the situation of many Negroes throughout the State of Georgia.

White men stand together in Georgia. Their ascendancy is maintained by force. To them the Negro is a source of labor. There are many instances of benevolent paternalism. But in any full sense the Negro is not considered a human being. If a crime is committed against a Negro it is practically impossible to prove it: unless it assumes the dimensions of the wholesale murders practiced in Jasper County.

A Negro's sworn testimony will not stand against a white man's unsworn and unsupported assertion. The sheriff of Jasper County, who might have been expected to proceed against the owner of the "murder farm," was himself under indictment in the Federal court, charged with the crime of peonage, at the time the murder trial began. It was a matter of common gossip that the planter, John Williams, who was accused of having instigated and committed the murder of his peons, had had financial dealings with the solicitor who was charged with prosecuting him. It was also a matter of common knowledge that, in defiance of the law of Georgia, a law which is set at defiance every day by thousands of Georgians, many citizens of Williams's county would be present, fully armed, in Covington during the trial.

A story which illustrates the difficulty of convicting white men of peonage was told to me by an officer of the United States Government, from his own exact knowledge, as follows: In December of 1920 a Negro farmer found himself penniless, his crop seized by his landlord against a debt the landlord claimed was due. The Negro escaped to another county and took new employment. He was pursued with warrants on charges of swindling and cheating. This is an expedient often employed against Negro peons who escape. The Negro was convicted, but his fine was paid by a white man for whom he went to work. The first employer then sought out the new one and claimed the Negro owed him money. The new employer agreed to liquidate the debt, but before he could do so the Negro was seized at night, carried a mile from his cabin, tied to a tree, and shot. The body was in plain view next day. There is no reasonable doubt as to who perpetrated the crime.

From a white Georgian who attended the meeting I learned how the Governor of the State, within the month, had met a group of representative citizens and had told them of twenty or thirty cases of peonage of his own knowledge. The few white men who burn with shame and anger at the conditions which they know to exist feel stifled in their own State. They have no means of speaking out. There is no liberal press in Georgia, no magazines not devoted to sensational news, as there are in New York. The newspapers of Georgia are afraid, not of physical violence, but of loss of patronage if they tell the truth. On the other hand they do not scruple to create mobs. One newspaper brought about the Atlanta riot of 1907. The Georgia newspapers lynched Leo Frank.

It is idle to advise or warn white Georgians. But they are preparing for themselves a terrible day of reckoning. They do not realize the spirit they are breeding among colored people. The Negro Pullman porter on the train coming North gave more than a hint of that feeling in Atlanta. He and all his housemates are armed with Winchester rifles. They have been made bitter. They intend to use their rifles if they have to defend themselves. He said to me: "It is bad to have to live in such a state of suspense, not knowing when the storm may break, when you may have to fight for your life."

It is bad indeed. The remedy lies with the very white men who have hitherto made it impossible to convict other white men of peonage. It lies in a realization that imposing a sentence of life imprisonment on one of the most deliberate and cold-blooded murderers in the annals of crime in a section of the country where the death penalty is readily inflicted, is not a vindication of Georgian or Southern justice or in any sense evidence that the ghastly abuse now uncovered and the relation that it cannotes between the races can be satisfactorily solved solely by "leaving it to the South."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Death of Limerick's Mayor

By K. O'CALLAGHAN

Limerick, March 15

I WAS urged by official messengers from the military command, and also formally invited, to attend a public inquiry into the death of my husband, Michael O'Callaghan, ex-Mayor of Limerick, and I was assured that the military authorities desired to have everything open, and as *public* as possible. How far the promise of publicity has been kept I can judge by the newspaper reports, which state that a cordon of military surrounded the Courthouse, that the adjacent streets and the grounds of the adjoining Protestant Cathedral were held by armed troops, that no members of the general public were allowed to enter, or even to approach, the building unless provided with special permits from the military authorities.

In a letter to the Press on the 10th inst. I stated that I believed these military inquiries to be a farce and a travesty of justice. That belief is shared by all my fellow countrymen who have read the reports of similar proceedings elsewhere in Ireland. They do not need fresh evidence of it, but as possibly there may be some people outside this country who have not yet come to appreciate in full the working of the system by which we are at present governed, I wish to draw their attention to statements made at the Limerick inquiry.

All the military and police witnesses examined at the inquiry seemed anxious to prove that the Limerick murders were committed by what they were pleased to call "the extreme section of the Irish Republican Army." I, however, have no doubt who the murderers were. They do not belong to the *Irish Republican Army, who protected my husband and my home while they could, and who now join with me in my bitter mourning.*

My husband was unanimously elected Mayor by the *first Republican Corporation of Limerick* in January, 1920. In March that year, the very day after his return from Lord Mayor Macurtain's funeral, *his first death notice* reached him, similar in terms to that received by the Lord Mayor of Cork. From that out my husband and I had no delusions of false security. We knew that those who sent it had the means and the will to carry out their threat. During the greater part of his mayoral year *my husband seldom slept at home.* When he did sleep in his own house it was not the Crown forces that protected him, *but a guard of the Irish Republican Army.*

General Cameron is reported to have paid a tribute to the services which the late Mayor, Alderman George Clancy, and my husband rendered in preserving the peace of the city. Of General Cameron personally I know nothing. His tribute to the dead men may be sincere, but I should like to put on record the kind of tribute which the forces of the Crown in General Cameron's command paid to these men while they lived.

Alderman Clancy's home was frequently raided during curfew by Crown troops, and his wife had to endure insults and threats. In August last, on the eve of our departure for a short holiday, which was not spent in this country, my husband stayed for a few nights at home without his usual guard. *It was during this period that our house was first raided by a mixed party of Crown forces.* It was the kind of raid with which Irish people are familiar: every room was tossed and littered, they helped themselves to some claret and stout, and when they had gone some articles, silver, etc., were missing. I notified the officer of the R.I.C. barracks of my loss. The only result was an acknowledgment of the receipt of the list of articles "alleged to have been missing."

Our house was again raided on Shrove Tuesday night by a party of police, some of whom were drunk, offensive, and menacing. Both my husband and I believed that he owed his life on that occasion to the presence and restraining influence of two Irishmen, members of the old R. I. C. . . .

Our house was again raided on February 22, eleven days before my husband's death, this time by a mixed party of Auxiliaries, soldiers, *English* Black and Tans, and women searchers. During the raid my husband and I were kept apart, and, *a very significant feature,* I had to submit to the indignity of having my room *and my person* searched by the women attached to the Crown forces.

Curfew and martial law conditions put an end to our living under the protection of our Republican Guard, because my husband was unwilling to jeopardize these brave lives. While under the protection of the I. R. A. no harm came to us, thank God. The *extremists* kept their trust: they did their duty well, and now it is one of my proudest and most consoling memories that they guarded him living and dead. *My husband was murdered when the city was completely in the hands of the curfew troops, when no citizen—not even the priest and doctor who attended him—could be out on the street without peril to their lives.*

The desire of the Crown forces in Limerick to apprehend the murder gang who were abroad on the night of Sunday, March 6, may be judged by a few facts:

1. That *one D.I.* and *three constables* represented the entire strength of the forces which turned out *on foot* on hearing of my husband's murder, *thirty-five minutes after* I telephoned for them to get a priest.

2. Mayor Clancy's house lies about two hundred yards from the Strand Barracks. The sentry on guard swore at the inquiry that *he heard the steps of three men* pass, going in the direction of the Mayor's house. Ten minutes afterwards *he heard six shots,* the sound of which came from that direction. He reported the matter, and *though he heard the footsteps of the murderers hurriedly returning in the direction of Sarsfield Bridge, the men were not challenged, no patrol was turned out, and the officer then in charge* was not examined at the inquiry.

3. On other occasions the citizens will remember that if a policeman were wounded, or even threatened, in the city, or within miles of it, troops poured out from all the barracks, the whole city was surrounded, the bridges were closed, and the citizens were roused and searched, in order to discover the criminals.

4. *Thirteen minutes after my husband was murdered* the doctor who was bravely coming to attend him *met five men* walking leisurely in Sarsfield Street, about a hundred yards from William Street Barracks, to which I had telephoned, and apparently going in that direction.

5. General Cameron stated that the relations between the Crown forces and the inhabitants were friendly, that "about two months ago a girl was shot while walking out with a constable, and since then nothing has happened." *Apparently, many things happened without General Cameron's knowledge.* Has he not heard of the murder of Thomas Blake, a prominent Sinn Feiner, on Friday, January 28, and is there no record of the raid on Blake's house the week before his murder, and of a species of court martial conducted at it by Crown troops?

General Cameron, the head of the Crown military system in this area, invited me to attend a military inquiry, with the purpose, I presume, of bringing the murderers of my husband to account. He set up as a tribunal of investigation one section of those very Crown forces who held the city absolutely in their hands when the murder was done. He called the inquiry a *public* one, and he took extraordinary precautions, military and otherwise, to insure that it should not be public.

There are three women who have a bitter right to be satisfied that every step is taken to end this terror that walks by night under the military system in Ireland. I, the widow of Michael O'Callaghan, the murdered ex-Mayor of Limerick, am one of those women, *and I am not satisfied.* In my agony that night, I thought of the countless other women suffering, as I suffered in my husband's threatened life and in his death. For their sakes, *I demand full and open inquiry before a jury of my countrymen and countrywomen into the murder of my husband.*

There is yet a God of Justice, and whatever verdict the military inquiry brings in, *General Cameron and his curfew troops are still accountable to Him and to me.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

WHEN Jim Cross flung open the door of the storeroom in search of the missing drug clerk he found him with clothes afire writhing in agony on the floor of the burning room. In another moment the clerk jumped head foremost through the closed window five floors above the street. Jim caught him as he hung for a moment by his feet and held him by one of them. Then, when he had with his cap beaten down the flames in the clerk's clothes—his own clothes were beginning to burn by this time—Jim pulled the half-crazed man back and, then, getting out on a narrow ledge, pulled and dragged him along this slight pathway to another window, into which in the sight of hundreds he thrust the half-conscious man before he began to put out the fire in his own clothes. Several minutes later Jim emerged from the building bearing the clerk on his shoulder —only to collapse and fall as he came out on the sidewalk—amid the cheers of the crowd. All of this happened in New York the other week in the Winter Garden Theater building; the hero was a Negro porter; the clerk, who has since died from his burns, a white man the Negro hardly knew. Did the newspapers which printed the account make their headlines read: NEGRO HERO SAVES WHITE MAN? No, indeed, they were the same newspapers which love to feature a colored man's crime like this: "Negro Brute Assails Woman." In this case they modestly referred to him as a "colored porter"; one editorial, speculating on the motives that led Jim to risk his life for a comparative stranger, obscurely referred to him as one whose ancestors "came from the Congo." His last name was not printed. Thus, the Drifter finds it always goes with the Negro. His good deeds are, if not interred with his bones, usually carefully overlooked or minimized. Yet there are many Negro Jims, as the records of the Carnegie Hero Fund amply testify.

* * * * *

THE Drifter cannot remember when last he went to the circus, but whenever it was, it was for him still the "Magic Ring," with enchanting, and undoubtedly enchanted, giants and pygmies; with side-splitting clowns and gloriously beautiful ladies dancing on one toe on the broad white back of a noble charger. For him then the tinsel was still silver, the jewels were all precious, the trappings were cloth of gold. Now he has been to the circus again. He was still captivated by the smell—that inimitable combination of sawdust and sweat, grease-paint and giraffes, peanuts and people. He jumped when the lady trapeze artist pretended to fall and plunged shrieking to earth, only to be caught securely at the end of a rope a second before she would have been dashed to bits. And he watched with amazement the horses of Mr. Hess falling into their places in the complicated figures of a horse, instead of a lobster, quadrille. But for the most part he found the circus too big, too strange, too bright. He wanted one ring, and at most three clowns, and above all, a tent. He wanted fewer people watching, five- instead of fifteen-cent ice-cream cones, and more vociferous and imaginative barkers. In short, he yearned for the circus as he remembered it—which is, in all probability, as it never was.

* * * * *

THE program, he is bound to admit, was everything that could be desired. In it were described the "ponderous pachyderms, performing feats hitherto unknown in any circus in any country in the world," and the "seven aerial wonders, leaping from ring to ring in mid-air, defying the law of gravitation" and no doubt putting the fixed stars to shame! In the program also was an account of "the untamable tamed! Absolutely the first time in the history of the world that the wild animals of the impenetrable jungles of South Africa have yielded to the will of man. Seven ferocious Bengal tigers performing tricks that might be required of any kitten." It was undoubtedly true. The Drifter does not accuse the press agent of one atom of exaggeration. His objection is that it was too true! He was, as P. T. Barnum would have known, longing to be fooled. In the style of the program, the present circus "leaves not the slightest room for the play of any imagination that has existed since the beginning of time."

* * * * *

IT was at the circus, finally, that the Drifter saw the last remnant of glory stripped from royalty, and contrary to what he would have expected, it made him profoundly sad. There was the King of Beasts—in appearance still magnificent—dethroned, humiliated, and doing tricks for a little forked radish with a forked stick. The Drifter applauded every protest that the lion made; he exulted at every roar; he thrilled at the menace of a lifted paw. And when his royal majesty obediently spun his little ball, or leapt through his hoop, one watcher, at least, mourned for the lost glory of another and better day.

* * * * *

MARION, Ohio, having been put on the map by Mr. Harding, the ex-mayor of Marion, South Carolina—Palmer W. Johnson—has determined to put his town on the map also. His town, too, has a *Star*, of which he is the editor, and in it he is telling his townsmen, who turned him out of office after six years' service, that although republics may be ungrateful, ex-mayors are not. He wants them to know that he is happy to quit his job as "public footwiper," and summarizes his term in office as follows:

We have settled land disputes, family disputes, dog disputes, and some unfair accounts.

We have been insulted, disgusted, spat upon, and imposed upon.

We have locked up culprits for wrong-doing, and then envied them their place of limbo.

We have been blamed for stopped sewers, blocked streets, heavenly showers, poor telephone service, and the present price of cotton.

We have been cursed for cutting down trees, and threatened with death for allowing other trees to stand.

We have been blacklisted for the bum work of one policeman, and ostracized for the sterling work of another.

We have been called a liar until we almost believe it.

We have become widely known as a grand rascal, an arch criminal, a desperado, a policy player, and a bigoted fool.

We have been accused of attempting to give the Presbyterian Church title to the Town Hall.

Mothers accused us of overrunning the town with dogs, and dog owners blamed us with the deluge of babies.

One bunch wanted hogs in town, while another said there were too many hogs already.

They cursed our name when mosquito time came.

They yelled at us when the ditches ran over after having been filled to capacity by the good Lord.

They blamed us for the many peculiarities of their neighbors' chickens, dog, man-servant, maid-servant, and mule.

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Willard on The Railroad Wreck

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read in *The Nation* of March 30 the editorial on page 469 under the caption, The Railroad Wreck, and it is because some of the statements therein seem to me to be incorrect and misleading that I am about to write what follows:

The editorial says in part, "Today the Esch-Cummins law is a complete and admitted failure." I wonder upon what specific grounds the writer of the editorial based that conclusion. As I see the matter, the Esch-Cummins law so far has met every proper and possible expectation. To be specific: The law provides, among other things, that in times of emergency the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have authority to bring about such common use of equipment and facilities as may be necessary to meet the public's requirements for transportation. Under this provision of the law, the railroads, during the twelve months ended December 31, 1920, moved 9,000,000,000 ton miles more than the same properties ever moved in the same length of time before, including the year of 1918 when they made their best previous performance. The figures which I have quoted are official and it seems to me they clearly justify the conclusion that the railroads, with private operation under the terms of the Esch-Cummins Act, not only can but actually did move more business than the same railroads could, or, at any rate, more than they actually did move under Federal control.

Second, the Esch-Cummins law provides a definite rule for rate-making, and in accordance with that rule the Interstate Commerce Commission authorized an increase in freight rates which was thought to be sufficient to meet the requirements of the law. It is true that the Commission was unable last August to foresee the depression which later on was going to take place in the business world, but you will admit, I am sure, that they were not alone in that respect. If business had continued at anything like the volume which obtained in last July or August, I believe that the rates fixed at that time by the Commission would have been adequate.

The statement is made in the editorial above referred to that the depression in business is due to the fact that rates are so high that freight will not move and passengers will not travel. My study of the matter does not lead to that conclusion. In fact I have personally asked many large manufacturers and shippers of goods what effect it would have upon their shipments at the present moment if freight charges were canceled altogether and if the railroads would move the tonnage offered free of all charges. I felt that that was putting the question in an extreme way, but invariably the answer has been that it would practically make no difference at all in the volume of business, because people were not buying at the present time, and the reason why people were not buying now was not because freight charges are higher than formerly, but because there was a general expectation and belief that material prices would be lower—in fact, considerably lower—a little later on and industry was awaiting that event. I repeat that it seems to me nothing has happened yet to indicate that the provision of the law which has to do with rate-making has failed. Certainly it cannot be seriously urged that rates fixed so as to yield only 5½ per cent on the actual value of the property used for transportation purposes are excessive or unreasonably high.

One other important feature of the law is the provision which has to do with the settlement of labor disputes, and certainly it cannot be said that that provision has failed up to this time. Never at any time was the labor situation on the railroads so serious and disquieting as it was at the termination of Federal control on the first of March, 1920. The railway workers had made requests for increased wages nearly a year previous. Their requests had not been acted upon. The Esch-Cummins Act created agencies to deal with such matters, and the whole labor question after the termination of Federal control was promptly laid before the Labor Board established by the Act. That Board, which was charged with the responsibility of dealing with the subject, gave a decision in July which meant an aggregate increase per annum to the railway workers of about $625,000,000. Other disputed questions between the managements and the employees have been referred to the Labor Board, but please bear in mind that during this entire period while the complex labor problem which I have briefly referred to was being discussed and gradually worked out, the transportation service of the country has continued uninterruptedly. The purpose of the labor provision in the Esch-Cummins Act, as I understand it, was to prevent an interruption of the transportation service because of disputes growing out of labor questions. Certainly it must be admitted that so far this feature of the law has accomplished what Congress evidently had in mind.

The particular features of the law which I have referred to seem to me the ones of most importance, and I fail to find any justification for saying that the law has failed in any one of the three particulars mentioned. What has happened, of course, is this: Our nation, together with the other leading nations in the world, took part in a great world war and for several years the utmost energies of all were devoted to purposes of destruction of material and lives. This condition was naturally accompanied by great economic disturbances. The war is over, but the price must now be paid and the process of economic readjustment is naturally more or less painful and costly. All industry was stimulated to an unprecedented degree during the war. Reaction has now set in, and the railroads, which do not create business but act simply as carriers reflect in their earnings the general condition of business and industry as a whole.

During the discussions which took place in Congress in connection with the Esch-Cummins Act, Senators and Congressmen of both political parties spoke in strongest terms of commendation of the American railroads as a whole. They united in saying that previous to the war this country had the best transportation system by rail in the world, had the lowest transportation charges in the world, and at the same time the railway employees had been paid the highest wages. Such was the railroad system taken over by the Government on December 28, 1917.

Despite inadequate and impaired equipment and the serious labor situation which existed at the end of Federal control, I repeat that the railroads during the year ended December 31, 1920, performed a transportation service equivalent to 9,000,000,000 ton miles *greater* than had ever before been performed by the same properties in the same length of time.

The problems confronting the railroads today are serious and complex, just as the problems confronting all other business enterprises are serious and complex, but in my opinion they can and will be successfully worked out under the terms of the Esch-Cummins Act.

The compensation paid railway employees on Class I railroads, as last reported, is on a basis 120 per cent higher than the wages paid in 1914. It should be remembered, however, that the present basis of wages was fixed by a governmental body created by Congress to deal with such matters, and they were fixed having in mind the cost of living and other pertinent questions. I have no doubt that railway wages will be readjusted downward when the cost of living has declined sufficiently to justify such reductions. Of course, the problem is a very complex one, and because of its very nature it cannot be disposed of hastily. The law, however, provides an orderly method of procedure, by which wages of railway employees may be fairly adjusted from time to time. It is not to be expected that matters of such vital importance can be discussed without evidence of feeling, but the important thing is to keep the trains running regularly while the discussion is going on, and so far the public has not been inconvenienced on that account.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There are other statements in the editorial to which I should like to make special reference if I did not feel that this letter is already too long, but understanding the matter as I do, it seemed to me that I ought to call attention to the things which I have specifically referred to, because I assume it is your desire to discuss the railroad subject fairly and constructively.

New York, March 29 DANIEL WILLARD

[We are glad to print President Willard's letter because of our readiness to present the railroad side of the case and because of our high opinion of President Willard personally. But the Esch-Cummins law is based on the theory that the way to insure cheap and adequate transportation is to guarantee returns on railroad securities, so far as that can be done by the rate-making process, thus establishing railroad credit and making it possible to get cheap capital. It neglects the fundamental question of valuation, and makes no more than a pious gesture in the direction of efficient and economical financial and technical management. We repeat that the failure of the law is complete. It was based on an unsound theory, and even Mr. Warfield's association of security owners admits the failure. If this were not the case Senator Cummins would not himself be demanding a rigid inquiry into the whole railroad situation. Mr. Warfield himself is proposing an incredibly complicated machinery—some fifty boards—to put efficiency into the railroad system.

To be sure, the roads carried last year the heaviest traffic in their history, but on Mr. Willard's own showing they did it only by appealing to the emergency powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, thus going back on the atomistic private management theory of the law.

The rates are all right, Mr. Willard declares, but the wretched traffic just isn't there. But everyone we know insists that rates are too high. (He must not, however, believe that we hold high railroad rates responsible for the existing business depression. The idea is new to us.) Fix rates, as the Transportation Act does, on a cost-plus basis without making certain that costs are kept down, and you open the floodgates to cost inflation. That is what the act has done.

Apparently Mr. Willard believes that so long as some trains move, the law has been a success in regard to labor relations. But does he really think that the labor problem on the roads is in a fair way to settlement? If so, we earnestly suggest that he try to find out the temper of the men on his own lines.

Transportation is primarily a public utility. The Esch-Cummins Act treats it as primarily a private-profits machine.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Correspondence

Why the Sherman Anti-Trust Law Failed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "I do not doubt the excellence of your intentions, but youth is the age of credulity and confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom." Mr. Gilson Gardner's article, Why the Sherman Anti-Trust Law Failed, brought to my mind the words I have just quoted from Lord Chatham with which the old lion of Liberty gently rallied the young men who had succeeded him on the Ministerial Benches and were pursuing a policy of conquest toward the revolted colonies. I do not know Mr. Gardner's age nor what his opportunities for political illumination may have been. The writer spent ten years in Washington and every day added fresh confirmation to what was obvious at first blush, to wit, that the Government, in its executive and judicial branches, and the Trusts were absolutely identical. Does Mr. Gardner expect the Trusts to prosecute themselves? They know their Burke and reply, "We do not know how to draw up an indictment against—ourselves."

The late unlamented Administration went into office pledged to the hilt to curb the Trusts. In the early days of President Wilson's first term of office Hon. H. Robert Fowler, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois and as honest a man as ever was sent to Washington, called on his old friend Col. W. J. Bryan, at that time Secretary of State, and bluntly asked the Secretary when the party intended to redeem its pledges touching the Trusts. Colonel Bryan replied that "it had been agreed, for the sake of party harmony, party regularity, not to take up the question of the Trusts at that time." Only one person could have pledged the Administration to this attitude of maleficent neutrality, and that was President Wilson himself.

Thousands of pages of unimpeachable testimony point irresistibly to the conclusion that if the Government had tried as hard to suppress monopoly as it has to promote it—if it had used the same vicious teeth in invading the offices of the Meat Packers and the Standard Oil Company that it used in breaking up and destroying the offices of the I. W. W. and the Communist Party, there never would have been a Trust, as we now know them, in this country.

Kingston-on-Hudson, April 11 JOHN BASIL BARNHILL

Kansas and Howat

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article, The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, in *The Nation* of April 6 must leave many readers wondering whether, despite its length, there is not an undisclosed side of the matter presented. The Story of Alex Howat, as told by Mr. James P. Cannon in the *Liberator* for April, supplies certain omissions.

One passage in *The Nation* article disturbs the recital of the achievements of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. Indeed, it throws more light on the spirit and purposes of that court than was perhaps intended. The writer says: "Alexander Howat, the district president (United Mine Workers, District 14), is a radical of radicals, alleged to be a member of the I. W. W., the Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union, and charged with contributing to the financial support of the Communist Party and in touch with the extremists of the country." What a catalogue of crimes! It only remains to add that Howat probably gives money for the relief of the needy children of Soviet Russia—and reads *The Nation.*

As for the United Mine Workers of Kansas, especially in District 14, their status reminds one of the old Roman definition of liberty, recorded by Justinian: "Liberty is the natural power of doing what anyone is disposed to do, save so far as a person is prevented by force or law." Those "huddled" miners, "peculiarly susceptible to the radicalism rampant in the coal regions," ought to be made to understand, through Americanized educational methods, that they are perfectly free—except for the slight circumstance that they are prevented from striking by the "force and law" of the present government of Kansas.

Washington, D. C., April 2 ELLEN HAYES

Workers in the Cabinet

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your suggestions for the Presidential cabinet are good, but why should they all be high-classed professional men? Abraham Lincoln said, "You can always trust the common people" and "God loved the common people because he made so many of them." Now, why should not the common people be represented in the cabinet in proportion to their numbers? In Christ's cabinet, which was composed of the twelve apostles, there were eleven laborers, and one, St. Matthew, was a tax-collector. Of course it is not expected that laymen follow the example of Christ when even the ministers ignore him.

New York, March 11 GEORGE FENTRICK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

In a Style of Steel

Avon's Harvest. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. The Macmillan Company.

IN a story by Henry James called The Next Time a certain Ralph Limbert sets out in one book after another to write something that the casual public will violently want, only to find on each occasion that he has failed to write less than a masterpiece. If Mr. Robinson were to try the same experiment he would probably have the same success; and though he has not tried it in "Avon's Harvest," which both he and his publishers call a metrical dime novel, he has none the less told his shuddering "ghost" story in the steel-hard, steel-spare, steel-bright style which he has been tempering now for twenty-five years until it fits all the ranges of tragedy, comedy, irony over which his imagination moves.

Outwardly a "ghost" story, it is of course inwardly, since it is Mr. Robinson's, a study of a human character seen in its revealing moments. What Avon, the protagonist and confessant of the tale, has to tell is a record of the fierce snarl within him of three instincts—hate, remorse, fear—all felt toward his one enemy, whom he hated and wronged at school and who with a nagging vengeance has ever since kept the wound sore until not even the report of the enemy's death can assuage the hate, and until fear springs out of what Avon believes to be the grave and conquers him. Not one of Avon's instincts has a reasonable ground or course. He hates his enemy as a dumb creature hates a snake, as if it were because of

> some accrued arrears of ancestors
> Who throve on debts that I was here to pay.

He knows even as a boy that his hate is fantastic, but he knows that it is irresistible. It tortures and rends him, all the more since some ophidian quality in his enemy, something sinuous and slimy, holds Avon in the grip of fascination. Avon, however, cannot be let off with the agonies of a bird held—as the fable has it—by the eye of a serpent. Behind him are the many moral centuries of his race, and the enemy

> Found a few flaws in my tight mail of hate
> And slowly pricked a poison into me
> In which at first I failed at recognizing
> An unfamiliar subtle sort of pity,

which leads to an attempt at tolerance, and, of course, in the end to wilder loathing than ever. Years of separation bring no antidote; a momentary relief comes with the news that the enemy has been lost with the Titanic:

> It seemed as for the first time in my life
> I knew the blessedness of being warm;

and then, out of the apparent dark, comes the destroying element of fear. It too is largely instinct, but it too is more than the beast's terror: night—and every night—for Avon throbs with horrors which he could not have felt had he, like the beasts, never heard of malicious immortality. Upon this tangled nature of Avon the enemy plays, leaving him to think it is a ghost that haunts him, and in the end carrying away even the shell of his revenge long after he has had the kernel.

Most readers of the story—and even some of the reviewing crew—seem to imagine that the enemy is actually a revenant. "Avon's Harvest" is indeed not explicit on this point, but Mr. Robinson's record ought to be. What has he ever had to do with ghosts out of the abyss? He has found his ghosts in this sufficient world. And so in his latest book the interest lies not in the little war between Avon and a spook but in the vaster war within Avon himself between that part of him which is man and reasonable and that part of him which unreasonably leans upon its ancestors of the jungle and the swamp. Had Avon been man enough he could have argued himself out of hating, since there was no good reason; had he been beast alone he could have pounced upon his enemy and cooled his fury by the letting of blood. As it was, being a creature of incurably mixed elements, he alternately rages and reflects, curses and endures, and so comes to a tragic end.

If this conception of an inner war is characteristic of Mr. Robinson, still more so is the language in which he has presented it. In a sense it is the Yankee idiom lifted into literature—at least, it reminds one habitually of the sly short cuts to meaning, the reckless conciseness, the stubborn understatement of some Connecticut farmer or Maine fisherman.

> To look at her and then to think of him,
> And thereupon to contemplate the fall
> Of a dim curtain over the dark end
> Of a dark play, required of me no more
> Clairvoyance than a man who cannot swim
> Will exercise in seeing that his friend
> Off shore will drown except he save himself.

Quotation will no more serve to give a due account of the magic of this brevity than will a severed feature brought home by a cannibal to show how beautiful his victim was. Such an astute antithesis as this:

> I was enough a leader to be free,
> And not enough a hero to be jealous;

such half-humorous felicity with polysyllables as this:

> Unwelcome as it was, and off the key
> Calamitously, it overlived a silence
> That was itself a story and affirmed
> A savage emphasis of honesty
> That I would only gladly have attuned,
> If possible, to vinous innovation;

or such compression of irony as this:

> When the Titanic touched a piece of ice
> And we were for a moment where we are,
> With nature laughing at us—

these perhaps give some notion, but only a notion. It is vain to deny that at times Mr. Robinson's brevity becomes obscurity; at times he saves his syllables until any but a partial reader of this or that passage will feel as he does when in the encyclopedia he comes upon mathematical or chemical formulae and stumbles over them; there is no royal road to Robinson. The summit, however, is worth the ascent. The collected edition of his poems which we are encouraged to expect in the fall must be, no matter what else occurs, one of the thrilling poetical events of the year. C. V. D.

More American Chronicles

The Narrow House. By Evelyn Scott. Boni and Liveright.
Ellen Levis. By Elsie Singmaster. Houghton Mifflin Company.
The Sand Doctor. By Arnold Mulder. Houghton Mifflin Company.

IT is safe to predict that Mrs. Evelyn Scott's first novel, "The Narrow House," will be called "powerful but disagreeable," "morbid and drab," "cheerless and unnecessary." With all these intrusions of antecedent tastes, standards, norms into the business of criticism we have nothing to do. Agreeableness, "normalcy," and cheer did not happen to be among Mrs. Scott's aims. Her purpose is quite simply to project what she has seen with an unflinching closeness and precision. And the acuteness of her perceptions, both sensory and psychical, is so high that she has achieved the purpose she entertained with consummate skill and completeness. No other test is admissible. Veracity of experience and energy of expression mark the true artist. Mrs. Scott has both.

Her frame is small: a narrow house; her people few: Mr. and Mrs. Farley, Laurence their son, Alice their daughter, Winnie the son's wife. These five people have nothing of beauty and little of health in either body or mind. They are,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially in each other's vision, irritable and gross and ignoble and weak—bundles of ugly infirmities. But if you yield yourself quite passively to the enormous accuracy of the analysis, to what goes on so sharply and hauntingly in the brain and nerves of each of these creatures, you come to the conclusion that Mrs. Scott sees a way out for them all and that she is, as a matter of fact, more hopeful of human life and fate than the cheerful liar among novelists for the same reason that the diagnosis of a scrupulous physician is more hopeful than the promises of an oily quack. We do not know what happiness and comeliness the Farleys might not have made their own outside of that narrow house. But they are herded in it, doomed to fear and hate and love and rasp each other. They are united by consanguinity, duty, custom, opinion—by everything except healthy liking and voluntary choice; they are entangled by futile and febrile emotions; they live together in small, stuffy rooms and hear each other speak and sigh and mumble and masticate and yawn to the point of disgust and despair. Yet Mr. Farley stays, hiding cowardice under a mask of duty, and Laurence stays because he drifts and distrusts his impulses, and Alice because, in the present state of moral opinion, her life would be as sterile anywhere. But suppose the wind of some upheaval had come and swept away the narrow house with all its sick psychical compulsions and inhibitions! Only Mrs. Farley might have been left stranded. And even she, poor soul, would have been a more useful and less ignoble member of society as matron in a real asylum or an official jail. Guilt and horror belong here, in a word, to the narrow house, to an enforced litter as opposed to the freedom of voluntary companionship, to the will to obey a command that has neither sense nor sanction.

Except in a special and cerebral sense "The Narrow House" is not, indeed, a beautiful book. We hope, too, that Mrs. Scott will resist the temptation toward ultra-impressionism of style on the plain ground that coherent writing is just as expressive and far more permanent. But the book is beautifully brave and true and formidably searching. It would be not unimportant in any country; it is of the first importance to us. American literature is putting away childish things. The great style, the vision that is large as well as exact, will come later. We are, at least, beginning to see with adult eyes.

How difficult such seeing is appears in the books of Miss Elsie Singmaster and Mr. Arnold Mulder. There can be no question in regard to Miss Singmaster's talent, honesty of purpose, and knowledge. She must, indeed, know a great deal more than she chooses to tell us. But the point is precisely that, with many little excursions toward the closer truth and one quite brilliant episode, she does not choose to tell. She will not exhaust her situations. A good deal of her material—all of it that derives from the life of the Seventh Day Baptists—has a natural picturesqueness and charm, and she lets these qualities do duty for any deeper searching of her people's hearts and minds. Furthermore she is tied to the notion of "plot," of a pattern of action invented and imposed from without, and hence to the violent interlacing of the two strands of narrative with which she started. The result is that the final outcome of Ellen's story is quite fantastic and sentimental. This is the more to be regretted since only a strong imagination and a firm hand could have described the progress of the flabby Amos toward sin and change and communicated the pathos of the old "Kloster's" desertion and decay.

Mr. Arnold Mulder, who started out with such sane and ripe sketches of the Dutch farmers in Michigan, goes badly to pieces in his second novel, "The Sand Doctor." He has a notable theme: a physician who is all scientist and not at all a business man, a "joiner," or a flatterer cannot succeed as a general practitioner and finds his lack of worldly success revealing more and more the essential shallowness of his wife's character and affection. But in the first place Mr. Mulder does not steep himself into his problem at any point, giving us rather watery synopses and illustrative incidents quite externally seen; and, in the second place, he ends his story most depressingly by a series of occurrences so shamelessly miraculous that they destroy whatever was originally sound and pertinent in his hero's predicament. Thus the ending of "The Sand Doctor" even more than that of "Ellen Levis" throws a strong light upon the fine veracity and unswerving inwardness of development that distinguishes the work of Evelyn Scott.

Books in Brief

IN "Spiritualism" (Dodd, Mead) Joseph McCabe has written a lucid, reasonable history of the fantastic movement which originated in 1847 at Hydesville, New York, in the pranks of the Fox sisters, naughty girls who found they could produce "spirit" raps—with the joints of their toes—and proceeded to trick the neighbors. From this little fire a great smoke was kindled, with the help, of course, of a remarkable amount of fuel which the superstition found in the minds of a great many people already determined to believe in the existence of spirits if anything would give them a ghost of a chance. In many respects merely another phase of the instincts which in the seventeenth century had believed in witches, Spiritualism was nevertheless a gentle doctrine, and for all its vagaries did little positive harm. At one time it appears to have had hundreds of thousands of converts in the United States; it had its seers and prophets and scholars and historians and journalism; it traveled to Europe and led many tolerable intelligences captive in its train. Later came reaction, recantation on the part of a painful number of the mediums—and the unveiling of most of the remainder—and general depression. The Society of Psychical Research, in part reviving the older movement, during the past generation has devoted an immense amount of effort to the task of finding out the truth about the matter; so, however, did King James and Glanvil and Hale and the Boanergic Mathers of Massachusetts. Mr. McCabe writes with a definite disbelief in the whole idea, but with a careful use of sources chosen, on the whole, very fairly. He will probably be as irritating to convinced Spiritualists as he is amusing to those less apocalyptic souls who can occasionally derive a modest pleasure from the spectacle of human folly and its ways. Americans will derive an additional amusement from the habit Mr. McCabe has of explaining to his—presumably English—readers that, of course, such plants could not have sprouted on English soil. Yet the Americans of his record are mostly persons of little claim to education, while the Britons who took to this American invention include among themselves many illustrious names. There is a question just where the ground for self-congratulation lies in this connection.

"THERE are too many of these columns scattered about the country. Amy Lowell was exactly right when she said that they were sad affairs, pitiful things. It made us sore at the time, but we see now that she was well inspired." With such sly encouragements does Mr. C. L. Edson greet the humorous youngster who would learn from him "The Gentle Art of Columning" (Brentano's). A good joke is not the easy thing it is cracked up to be, says Mr. Edson. Punning is easy, but it is bad—not because it is the lowest form but because it is the lowest caliber. "It is a sound instead of a substance; it is a word instead of an idea. Popping off puns is like shooting at gnats with a cap pistol; there are mastodons passing by—get an elephant gun and go after them." The column conductors in this country who know the difference between the obvious and the subtle could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and that hand would have to be the hand of a conductor who was once a brakeman. In one of the liveliest books of the year Mr. Edson marshals a host of bad newspaper jests and defeats it with a host of good from F. P. A., Don Marquis, Christopher Morley, and B. L. T. But since the book was published B. L. T. of the Chicago *Tribune* has died, and there would seem to be but three

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men left in the profession who are great because they have ideas. If candidates for that fourth place want encouragement now, they can get it from Don Marquis's lines, perhaps:

> I do not work in verse or prose,
> I merely lay out words in rows;
> The household words that Webster penned—
> I merely lay them end to end.

Drama

According to Sarcey

IT was during the two decades from 1870 to 1890 that Francisque Sarcey, with an amazing vigor and resourcefulness of mind, established the theory of the theater as a mechanism, a puzzle, and a game. He abstracted his theory from the practice of Scribe and Sardou, stiffened and tightened it beyond the use of his models, and applied it to Sophocles and Shakespeare, Molière and Ibsen. This thing, he declared, was "of the theater"; that was not. He insisted on the rigor of the game he had invented and reduced the creative art of the drama to a base, mechanic exercise. Since his theory deals exclusively with the effectiveness of one narrow variety of form and since his interest in substance and its development from within was practically nil, he kept the theater both barren and static and richly deserved as his epitaph the severe judgment of Lanson: "Au lieu d'aider la foule à s'affranchir, il la flattait dans la médiocrité de ses goûts."

Why talk about "Papa" Sarcey today? Because he is with us. He is our neighbor at the playhouse, our vis-à-vis at dinner, the critic in our class-rooms and on our hearth. When Mr. Clayton Hamilton extols the technique of Pinero he talks pure Sarcey; when learned professors lecture of the scène à faire and refuse to singe their well-kept plumage on the fires of Hauptmann or Shaw, they are promulgating the same faith; when, some years ago, the National Institute of Arts and Letters elected Mr. Augustus Thomas as its president and presented to him a gold medal for "his life work in the drama"—there was old Sarcey enthroned and declared an immortal. And the tradition persists. Listen to the chatter of the playwrights on Forty-second Street. They do not create their plays in secret. They "make" them in collaboration during week-end trips to Atlantic City; their highest ambition is to bring back an article that is "well-made."

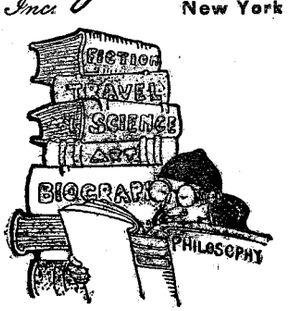
It is not difficult to account for the persistence and popularity of the theory of the "well-made" play. There are ninety-nine men who can mend a machine to one who can write a lyric; there are nine hundred and ninety-nine who can superintend the manufacture of sulphuric acid to one who can gain a new insight into the problem of matter. Ingenuity is plentiful, creative vision is rare. The theory of the "well-made" play installed the ingenious as lords of the theater and discredited the creative energy of the great masters at the expense of their supposed craftsmanship. It opened the doors of dramatic art to the type of mind that likes to solve conundrums and disentangle puzzles and invent a new can-opener and treat the business of both literature and life with astuteness, deftness, and decorum. Successful playwrights needed now no longer to be born. Cheerful mediocrity could learn all the tricks of a smooth "facture"; the superficially observed stuff of life furnished merely the pawns for the game, the threads for the pattern, the rigid little blocks for the skilful structure. Thus arose the school of dramatic writing that marched toward its big scenes by the road of lost letters and sudden encounters and stolen weapons and overheard conversations and lost wills and exotic inheritances, which refurbished the ancient trick of indistinguishable twins, borrowed the latest sleight-of-hand of the medium and the clairvoyant, and made Mr. Augustus Thomas the dean of American dramatists.

Mr. Thomas's new play, "Nemesis" (Hudson Theater), is the logical successor of "The Witching Hour" and "Palmy Days." The modern drama, on both its naturalistic and neo-romantic sides, has not left him wholly untouched. He has felt a change in the times and been stirred by a gentle ambition to change with them. During two acts of "Nemesis," even though the elderly silk-merchant and his young wife and the French sculptor are but vague and well-worn types, one is almost persuaded that Mr. Thomas is interested in some fundamental facts of human nature. But when, toward the end of the second act, the silk merchant slyly, but in careful view of the audience, pilfers and secretes a bit of clay bearing the sculptor's finger-prints, we know that the great game is on. Character and fate and vision are dropped. Now comes the triumph of ingenuity. What will the merchant do with the sculptor's finger-prints? Well, he has them transferred to rubber stamps and forces his wife to summon the sculptor to their house. Thereupon this gentleman of spotless life, addicted, as we are told, to the *North American Review* and the *American Journal of Economics*, stabs the lady to death with the calm precision of a stock-yard butcher, wipes the dagger, the table, the door-knobs with a kerchief, and carefully imprints on all these objects the finger-prints of the sculptor. There follows a trial scene in the Court of General Sessions, written and produced with consummate imitative skill in all the external details of reality, and a final moment outside of the Sing Sing gates. There is no happy ending. And for that one might be grateful, were it not that Mr. Thomas uses a raw shock to the sensibilities merely to enforce his belief that the one kind of circumstantial evidence commonly held to be incontrovertible may land an innocent man in the electric chair. This preoccupation of his, creditable no doubt to the man and the citizen, is artistically of an incurable externality. But from the point of view of Sarcey and the "well-made" play, it provides his ingenuity with a bundle of new and effective devices. For to this school of dramaturgy things and their accidental collisions take the place of passions and their fatalities.

The reason for paying even so much attention to a negligible melodrama is the same for which we recalled the theory of Sarcey. The full hope of the American drama will not be realized until that theory and the resultant practice are far more thoroughly discredited among intelligent people than they are today; until it is vitally understood, despite noisy reputations both critical and theatric, that no creative mind is an ingenious mind, that no noble play is either "built" or "made" but grows in the still chambers of the watchful soul, that the school of Sarcey continues still to produce plays in which, as Musset justly remarked long ago,

> l'intrigue, enlacée et roulée en feston,
> Tourne comme un rébus autour d'un mirliton.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

R. H. Macy & Co. Inc.
Herald Square New York
Maintains the largest and most complete Book Department in New York City.


Copyright, 1921, R. H. Macy & Co., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Is Egypt a Nation? III.

THE two sections of the report of the Milner Mission to Egypt, already published in the International Relations Section, covered the provisional conclusions of the Mission as to the causes of disorder and unrest in Egypt and the extent of the Nationalist movement, and set forth the terms of the Memorandum drawn up by the Mission after its return to England. The concluding sections of the Memorandum, the report on the Sudan as an Anglo-Egyptian Protectorate, and the proposals of the Egyptian Delegation appear below.

3. The British Officials in the Egyptian Service

The seventh clause of Article IV of the memorandum deals with the position of British officials in the Egyptian service. This is a matter of supreme importance to the good government of Egypt. The whole system of internal administration as it exists today has been mainly built up by the work and example of British officials, many of whom have spent the best part of their lives in the country. The immediate elimination of the British element would bring the whole fabric down in ruins. Even an over-hasty reduction of that element would threaten its stability, and greatly impair the efficient conduct of public business.

It is not indeed to be feared that, with the retirement of the British officials, the country would relapse into the state of maladministration from which we have delivered it, and that all the old evils would return. The number of Egyptians qualified by education and character to take part in the work of government on civilized principles has greatly increased since the occupation. All the Egyptians, even the humblest, have become so habituated to the new standard of orderly, equitable, and honest administration that a complete return to the abuses of the past would not be tolerated. Nevertheless, the "new model" would certainly be exposed to danger of serious deterioration if the men who have built it up and are still its mainstay were to be suddenly withdrawn.

Thus it is only natural that the proposal to leave a purely Egyptian Government entirely free to retain or not to retain British or other foreign officials in the Civil Service should be at first sight regarded with considerable uneasiness. But a calm consideration of the practical aspects of the case is calculated greatly to allay these misgivings. The idea of any Egyptian Government, however free to do so, attempting to make a clean sweep of its foreign officials is a chimera. One has only to picture the plight of such a Government, suddenly deprived of its most experienced and responsible advisers and confronted with the general unpopularity which the consequent administrative breakdown would entail, to realize that no sane men would deliberately plunge into such a sea of trouble. And it is not only Egyptian disapproval which would have to be reckoned with, but the anger and alarm of the foreign residents. The large and wealthy foreign colonies, on which the economic welfare of Egypt so greatly depends, would at once be up in arms. For these have all come to regard the presence of a British nucleus in the administration as the sheet-anchor of their own safety and prosperity. Nor is it to be anticipated that the High Commissioner—or whatever the British representative may in future be called—would not have a word to say in the matter. True, he will, *ex hypothesi*, have no right to dictate to the Egyptian Government. But as the representative of Egypt's ally, as the foremost foreigner in Egypt and the guardian of foreign interests, he will still carry great weight, and it will always be a matter of interest to Egyptian Ministers to be on good terms with him. The influences which would militate against the abuse by these Ministers of the right to dispense with the services of British officials are thus immensely strong. And at the same time the great satisfaction which they would feel at knowing that they had that right, and that the British officials were really there to assist and not to dictate, would make them more and not less ready to rely on British help.

For no sensible Egyptian seriously wishes to dispense with foreign aid in the government of his country, or believes that Egypt could, for a long time to come at any rate, afford to do without it. Egyptians generally no doubt think, and they are right in thinking, that the importation of British officials has sometimes, especially of late years, been overdone. They hold firmly to the principle that no Englishman or other foreigner should be appointed to any post for which a reasonably competent man of their own race can be found. They look forward to the time when the whole or almost the whole of the public service will be staffed by their fellow-countrymen. They feel that progress in that direction has been unduly slow and would like to see it sensibly accelerated. But they certainly do not wish to get rid of those British officials—and there are a goodly number of them—whom they really respect, or to be precluded from engaging others of equal competence in the service of their country in the future.*

The danger lies rather in the opposite direction. There may be a stampede of British and other foreign officials, scared by the prospect of finding themselves at the mercy of a purely Egyptian Government. That would be a grave misfortune, but it seems to us very improbable that such an exodus will ever assume large dimensions. In the first place, there are in many branches of the Public Service, such as ports, railways, customs, public works, etc., a considerable number of Englishmen and other Europeans who are employed as experts for lack of Egyptians possessing the necessary technical skill. These men are not likely to feel their position in any way affected by a change in the political status of Egypt. It is rather those occupying genuinely administrative posts, and having authority over large bodies of Egyptians, who are likely to fear this change. Will Egyptian Ministers, they may ask themselves, still

---

* We took considerable pains to discover the truth about the number of foreign officials in the Egyptian Service. Returns were prepared for us by the Statistical Department, showing the distribution of all posts in the 1919-1920 Budget, while a comparative statement was called for from each Ministry, showing the distribution of pensionable and contract posts in the years 1905, 1910, 1914, and 1920.

In the returns submitted by the Statistical Department, posts are described as "pensionable," "contract," "monthly paid," and "daily paid." In the two latter classes 98½ per cent of the posts are occupied by Egyptians. So in this category foreign competition is evidently not excessive.

An examination of the pensionable and contract posts, however, revealed a different state of affairs. Omitting the seven ministerial posts, the staff of the Sultan's Cabinet, the Council of Ministers, the Legislative Assembly, and the Ministry of Wakfs, in which, with one or two exceptions, the posts are held exclusively by Egyptians, Egyptians hold 86 per cent of the posts in the administration and draw 71 per cent of the salaries, while the British hold 6 per cent of the posts and draw 19 per cent of the salaries, others (viz., non-Egyptian and non-British) holding 8 per cent of the posts and drawing 10 per cent of the salaries. In some statistical diagrams which were prepared to show the distribution of these posts and salaries among the different Ministries, the posts are divided into six classes. The first three classes range from the lowest salaries to £E. 799 per annum, and may be described as "Lower Posts"; the other three classes cover "Higher Posts," and include salaries of £E. 800 to £E. 2,999.

Among the lower posts, Egyptians hold roughly two-thirds of those between £E. 240 and £E. 499; but after that the Egyptian share declines to little more than one-third of the posts between £E. 500 and £E. 799. In the higher posts the disparity is even more marked and the Egyptian share does not amount to one-quarter. It is true that in the £E. 1,200-£E. 1,499 class, the Egyptian share rises to over one-third, but this can be traced to the Ministries of Interior and Justice, which provide Egyptian Mudirs (Provincial Governors) and Judges. In the higher posts of the Ministries of Finance, Education, Public Works, Agriculture and Communications, however, there are only 31 Egyptians, as against 168 British and 32 "others" holding posts over £E. 800. Doubtless in these particular Ministries there are many higher posts requiring special technical qualifications which it is impossible at the moment to find Egyptians qualified to fill. If, however, Egyptians are to be responsible for the internal administration of their country, it is essential that better provision should be made for training them to occupy such higher posts.

As far as the comparative tables showing the distribution of pensionable and contract posts in 1905, 1910, 1914, and 1920 are concerned, owing to the imperfect state of the records the figures can only be regarded as approximate. They sufficed, however, to give a general impression of the turnover in personnel. In the total of posts the Egyptian element has grown from 45.1 per cent in 1905 to 50.5 per cent in 1920. Egyptians in lower posts have also increased from 48.4 per cent of the total in 1905 to 55 per cent in 1920. But in the higher posts their number has declined from 27.7 per cent in 1905 to only 23.1 per cent in 1920, while in the same category the British share of posts has increased from 42.2 per cent to 59.3 per cent of the total.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support them in the exercise of that authority? Will it still be possible to carry on the perpetual struggle against corruption and nepotism, and for promotion by merit and not by influence, with any measure of success? Such fears are not unnatural, and they may lead some of the men in question to prefer retirement. But there are others who will feel more confidence in themselves and in the essential strength of their future position. For they will not be, like the handful of Europeans who, before the occupation, fought an uphill battle for decent administration in an unreformed Egypt, and even under those depressing conditions were not without influence and certainly were not treated with any personal disregard. The British officials who remain in Egypt today will be in a country which is permeated by European influences, which has now grown used to British methods of government, and which will remain in contact on its borders with concrete evidences of British power. Moreover, the recognition of Egyptian independence will remove one great obstacle to their present usefulness. The growing prejudice against imported officials which threatens, if unchecked, to put an end to all hearty cooperation between them and their Egyptian fellows, is not due to the men but to the system. It is because they are, or can be represented to be, imposed upon Egypt against her will, as the agents and symbols of foreign domination, that hostility to them is easily excited. The grounds for such hostility will disappear when they can no longer be regarded as instruments of a foreign government, and their efforts to maintain efficiency will then have an increased amount of native support. For, as individuals, British administrators and the British officers in the Egyptian army are not unpopular. The best of them not only command the respect, but win the affection, of a people who are very quick to recognize capacity, especially when it is combined with graciousness and tact. Given time for reflection—and it is certain that nothing will be done in a hurry—it is likely that these considerations will determine many Englishmen in the Egyptian service to stick to their posts. And indeed Englishmen could perform no more honorable service than in establishing a friendly partnership between Great Britain and Egypt and assisting Egyptians to make a success of self-governing institutions.

But while any general or rapid displacement of the British and other foreign officials is not to be anticipated, it is nevertheless desirable to make careful provision for those with whose services the Egyptian Government may wish to dispense or who may themselves wish to retire when the new system comes into force. Such men must be treated not only with fairness, but with generosity. For nothing could have a worse effect upon Anglo-Egyptian relations in the future than that a number of former officials should be left with a sense of grievance. In any treaty between Great Britain and Egypt their position will have to be absolutely safeguarded, and the conditions of retirement carefully laid down after consultation with representatives of those concerned. Under existing law Egyptian officials, who are retired by the Government for reasons other than misconduct, receive pensions on a not ungenerous scale proportionate to their length of service. No new arrangement can infringe existing rights. But it is evidently necessary, in view of the altered circumstances, to make special provision for those whose careers may be prematurely cut short. And it is quite essential that men who under the new system retire of their own accord, should receive the same favorable treatment as those with whose services the Egyptian Government may choose to dispense. In ordinary circumstances a man voluntarily resigning a public post before the normal time for his retirement does so at a certain sacrifice. But this principle does not apply where the conditions of service are essentially altered. In that case the official should have the right to choose, whether he will or will not go on serving under the new conditions, and if he prefers to retire, should be entitled to do so on the same terms as if his retirement had been compulsory.

4. Reservations for the Protection of Foreigners

To the general principle that the Egyptian Government should in future be free to determine for itself what posts are to be filled by non-Egyptians, the memorandum in Article IV, § § 3 and 4, makes two exceptions. According to these clauses, a Financial Adviser and an official in the Ministry of Justice, whose special function will be to watch the administration of the law as it affects foreigners, are still to be appointed "in concurrence with His Majesty's Government." It may be asked, in view of what has already been said on this subject, why it was thought necessary to make these exceptions. The answer is to be found in the special responsibilities which under the proposed settlement Great Britain would assume for the protection of foreign rights.

The two points of supreme interest to the foreign Powers whose nationals at present enjoy special privileges under the Capitulations are the solvency of Egypt, which is not only of importance to the bondholders but indirectly affects all foreign capital and enterprise in the country, and the safety of the lives and property of foreigners. To insure these objects the Powers will certainly continue to insist on the maintenance of some measure of foreign control. They have come to acquiesce in the exercise of that control by Great Britain. But if Great Britain ceased to exercise it, they would demand that some other Power or group of Powers should take her place.

It is, however, a fundamental principle of the contemplated settlement that any powers, which may still be necessary to safeguard foreign interests in Egypt and to assure foreign governments that the rights of their nationals will be respected, shall be vested in Great Britain. This is the reason for the stipulation that the two high officials already referred to should continue to be appointed with the concurrence of the British Government—the duty of the one being to insure solvency, that of the other to watch the administration of the laws as affecting foreigners. The functions of these officials are only described in general terms in the memorandum, and the scope of their authority will have to be very carefully defined in drafting the treaty. Here again we had to content ourselves with agreement in principle and to leave details to be settled in future negotiations.

The same applies to the clause (IV, § 5) which gives the British representative in Egypt the right, in certain cases, to prevent the application of Egyptian laws to foreigners. This proposal was much discussed. The delegates were very anxious to avoid this right being converted into a general veto on Egyptian legislation. We, on our side, did not desire this. But the exact limits of the right were difficult to agree upon, and for this reason alternative solutions are suggested in the memorandum. The subject, indeed, is extremely complicated. But, stripped of technicalities, what it all comes to is this: The Egyptian Government is hampered at every turn by its inability to make laws applicable to the subjects of foreign Powers which have capitulatory rights in Egypt without the consent of those Powers, though that consent may in some cases be given on their behalf by the General Assembly of the Mixed Tribunals. As already explained, it has always been the aim of British policy, and it is part of the scheme contemplated in the memorandum, greatly to diminish the restrictions thus imposed on the legislative authority of the Egyptian Government. But it would be practically impossible, and it is not proposed, to remove these restrictions altogether. In so far as they are maintained, somebody must have the right to exercise them. In the scheme embodied in the memorandum it is contemplated that that right, intended as it is to safeguard the legitimate interests of all foreigners, should be conferred by Egypt on a single Power—Great Britain.

The Sudan

The scheme embodied in the memorandum deals only with Egypt. It has no application to the Sudan, a country entirely distinct from Egypt in its character and constitution, the status

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of which is not, like that of Egypt, still indeterminate, but has been clearly defined by the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of January 19, 1899.* For that reason the subject of the Sudan was deliberately excluded from all our discussions with the delegates. This was all along clearly understood by them, but in order to prevent any misunderstanding in Egypt of the scope of our discussions, Lord Milner, when transmitting the memorandum to Adli Pasha, also handed him the following letter:

"MY DEAR PASHA, AUGUST 18, 1920.

"Referring to our conversation of yesterday, I should like once more to repeat that no part of the memorandum which I am now sending you is intended to have any application to the Sudan. This is, I think, evident on the face of the document, but, to avoid any possibility of future misunderstanding, it seems desirable to place on record the view of the Mission that the subject of the Sudan, which has never been discussed between us and Zaghlul Pasha and his friends, lies quite outside the scope of the proposed agreement with regard to Egypt. There is a wide difference of conditions between the two countries, and in our opinion they must be dealt with on different lines.

"The Sudan has made great progress under its existing administration, which is based on the provisions of the Convention of 1899, and no change in the political status of Egypt should be allowed to disturb the further development of the Sudan on a system which has been productive of such good results.

"On the other hand, we fully realize the vital interest of Egypt in the supply of water reaching her through the Sudan, and we intend to make proposals calculated to remove any anxiety which Egypt may feel as to the adequacy of that supply both for her actual and her prospective needs. (Signed) "MILNER"

"HIS EXCELLENCY ADLI YEGHEN PASHA."

At this point it may be convenient that we should briefly state the reasons which, in our opinion, make it wholly impossible to contemplate, in the case of the Sudan, a settlement on the lines proposed for Egypt, indicating at the same time the general line of policy which appears most suitable to the present requirements of the former country.

While the great majority of the people of Egypt are comparatively homogeneous, the Sudan is divided between Arabs and Negroids, and within each of these two great racial groups there are a number of races and tribes differing widely from one another and often mutually antagonistic. The Arabs of the Sudan speak dialects of the same language as the people of Egypt and are united to them by the bond of religion. Islam, moreover, is spreading even among the non-Arab races of the Sudan. These influences mitigate in various degrees, but they have not overcome the antagonism of the two countries, which rankling memories of Egyptian misgovernment in the past have done much to intensify.

The political bonds which have at intervals in the past united Egypt with the Sudan have always been fragile. Egyptian conquerors have at various times overrun parts and even the whole of the Sudan. But it has never been really subdued by, or in any sense amalgamated with, Egypt. The Egyptian conquest of the Sudan in the last century was especially disastrous to both countries, and ended in the complete overthrow of Egyptian authority in the early eighties by the Mahdist rebellion. For more than ten years no vestige of Egyptian authority was left in the Sudan except in a small district surrounding Suakin. As a consequence of this breakdown, Great Britain was obliged to undertake several costly expeditions for the rescue of the Egyptian garrisons and the defense of Egypt, which was in danger of being overrun by the Mahdist hordes.

Since the conquest of the country by British and Egyptian forces under British leadership in 1896-8, the government of the Sudan, which under the Convention of 1899 takes the form of an Anglo-Egyptian Protectorate, has been virtually in British hands. The Governor-General, though appointed by the Sultan (formerly the Khedive) of Egypt, is nominated by the British Government, and all the Governors of Provinces and principal officials are British. Under this system of government the progress of the Sudan in all respects, material and moral, has been remarkable. When full allowance is made for the simplicity of the problem, viz., the introduction of the first principles of orderly and civilized government among a very primitive people, the great success actually achieved during the long Governor-Generalship of Sir R. Wingate is one of the brightest pages in the history of British rule over backward races. The present administration is popular in the Sudan and, with a few exceptions, peaceful and progressive conditions prevail throughout the country.

But while Egypt and the Sudan are essentially distinct countries, and are bound to develop on very different lines, Egypt will always have one interest of supreme importance in the Sudan. The Nile, upon which the very existence of Egypt depends, flows for hundreds of miles through the Sudan, and it is vital to Egypt to prevent any such diversion of water from the Nile as might diminish her present cultivable area or preclude the reclamation of that portion of her soil, some 2,000,000 acres in extent, which is capable of being brought under cultivation, when, by means of storage, the present supply of water available for irrigation has been increased. Hitherto the amount of water drawn from the Nile in its passage through the Sudan has been of negligible amount, but as the population of the Sudan increases that country will require more water for its own development, and a conflict of interest between it and Egypt might arise. At the same time there is every reason to hope that, properly conserved and distributed, the Nile waters will suffice for all the lands, whether in Egypt or the Sudan, which are ever likely to require irrigation. The control of the waters of the Nile for purposes of irrigation is a matter of such paramount importance and the technical and other problems involved are so difficult and intricate that it is, in our opinion, necessary to set up a permanent commission, composed on the one hand of experts of the highest authority and on the other hand of representatives of all the countries affected—Egypt, the Sudan, and Uganda—to settle all questions affecting the regulation of the river and to insure the fair distribution of the water.

The contiguity of Egypt and the Sudan and their common interest in the Nile make it desirable that some political nexus between the two countries should always be maintained, but it is out of the question that this connection should take the form of the subjection of the Sudan to Egypt. The former country is capable of and entitled to independent development in accordance with its own character and requirements. It is much too early to attempt to determine its ultimate political status. For present purposes that status is sufficiently defined by the Convention of 1899 between Great Britain and Egypt, which provides for the necessary political connection between Egypt and the Sudan without hampering the independent development of the latter country.

Though it is absolutely necessary for the present to maintain a single supreme authority over the whole of the Sudan, it is not desirable that the government of that country should be highly centralized. Having regard to its vast extent and the varied character of its inhabitants, the administration of its different parts should be left as far as possible in the hands of the native authorities, wherever they exist, under British supervision. A centralized bureaucracy is wholly unsuitable for the Sudan. Decentralization and the employment wherever possible

*This Convention, which was signed by the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Lord Cromer, laid it down that Great Britain was "by right of conquest" entitled "to share in the settlement and future working and development" of the Sudan. By the acceptance of this principle any claim of Turkey to suzerainty over the Sudan was disallowed, and that country was definitely excluded from the area subject to the regime of the Capitulations. It was accordingly provided in the Convention that the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals should "not extend to or be recognized in any part of the Sudan," and that no foreign consuls should reside in the country without the consent of the British Government. The supreme military and civil power was to be vested in the person of a "Governor-General," who would be appointed on the recommendation of the British Government by a decree of the Khedive of Egypt, and whose proclamations would have the force of law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of native agencies for the single administrative needs of the country in its present stage of development would make both for economy and efficiency. At the present time the officials of local origin are still largely outnumbered by those introduced from Egypt, with whom service in the Sudan is by no means popular. This difficulty will be overcome as education progresses and a greater number of Sudanese themselves become capable of filling official posts. At the same time care should be taken, in the matter of education, not to repeat the mistake which has been made in Egypt of introducing a system which fits pupils for little else than employment in clerical and minor administrative posts, and creates an overgrown body of aspirants to government employment. There is no room in the Sudan for a host of petty officials, and education should be directed to giving the Sudanese a capacity and a taste for employment in other directions, such as agriculture, industry, commerce, and engineering. The immediate need of the country is material development and it can do without an elaborate administrative system.

The military forces still employed in the Sudan are very large. A large army was, no doubt, required to complete the conquest and pacification of the country, but the time has come when, in our opinion, the question of the number and organization of its military forces should be reconsidered, and the financial burden upon Egypt which the maintenance of that force involves be reduced. Hitherto, the Governor-Generalship of the Sudan and the Command-in-Chief of the Egyptian army have been united in one person. There were good reasons for this in the past, but it is indefensible as a permanent arrangement. At the first convenient opportunity a civil Governor-General should be appointed.

In general it should be the aim of British policy to relieve Egypt from any financial responsibility for the Sudan and to establish the relations of the two countries for the future upon a basis which will secure the independent development of the Sudan while safeguarding the vital interests of Egypt in the waters of the Nile.

Egypt has an indefeasible right to an ample and assured supply of water for the land at present under cultivation and to a fair share of any increased supply which engineering skill may be able to provide. A formal declaration on the part of Great Britain that she recognizes this right and is resolved under all circumstances to uphold it would go far to allay the uneasiness which prevails in Egypt on this subject. We are of opinion that such a declaration might with advantage be made at the present time.

Visit of Egyptian Delegates to Egypt

At the close of the discussions which resulted in the memorandum of August 18, Zaghlul Pasha and the other delegates as well as Adli Pasha left London for France. Four of the Delegation (Mohammed Pasha Mahmud, Ahmed Lutfi Bey el Said, Abdel Latif Bey el Mukabati, and Ali Bey Maher) proceeded immediately to Egypt in accordance with the understanding already referred to in order to enlist the support of their countrymen for the scheme outlined in the memorandum. The substance of that document, with certain inaccuracies of detail, had meanwhile found its way into the press and been received in Egypt with expressions of approval.

About the same time publicity was given in that country to a long manifesto from Zaghlul Pasha, in which he emphasized the representative character of the Delegation and the support which it had received from the nation. He referred to the endeavors made by the Delegation to submit the Egyptian case to the Peace Conference and to the world at large, claiming that a considerable amount of sympathy had been gained in foreign countries. He went on to speak of the appointment of the Special Mission and the obstacle to any direct contact with its members presented by insistence on the Protectorate, the steps which had eventually led to the visit of the Egyptian delegates to London, and the discussions which had taken place there. This document concluded by announcing that the proposals which had resulted from these discussions would now be submitted to the nation by emissaries appointed for the purpose, and, should the project be favorably received, representatives would then be nominated to negotiate a treaty on the basis suggested.

The inconclusive character of this message appears to have somewhat damped the enthusiasm with which the local committee of the Delegation in Cairo had, in the first instance, greeted the announcement of a settlement. The four emissaries, however, who reached Alexandria on the 7th of September, were received with warm demonstrations of welcome and their arrival revived a feeling of optimism. A telegram from the local committee to Zaghlul Pasha expressed the confidence which "the whole of the country" placed in the Delegation and the prevailing enthusiasm of the public. At the same time it was noticeable that there was a marked relaxation of that sense of strain and tension which had for some time past governed the relations between British and Egyptians, and conciliation was in the air.

It is true that at first a very determined set was made against the proposed settlement by the *Hisb-el-Watani* and other extremists. The critics maintained that the contemplated independence of Egypt was not a reality, and specifically protested against the non-inclusion of the Sudan in the scheme. Among the principal objectors four of the Khedivial Princes, who had signed the manifesto already referred to, now took the opportunity to publish in the Arabic newspapers on September 11, 1920, a declaration that their views remained unchanged and that they did not support any agreement which restricted the independence of Egypt. But this demonstration had little effect on the public, and in view of the good reception generally accorded to the proposals the Princes shortly afterwards endeavored to explain it away.

While the four emissaries of the Delegation did not enter into any contact with the official world in Egypt, every care was taken to insure them complete liberty of action and movement. The procedure which they adopted was to invite small groups of representative Egyptians to meet them and to discuss the proposed settlement. The latter in turn reported to other groups in the provinces, whence resolutions of adherence were received by the four delegates, so that within a fortnight of their arrival it became evident that a substantial majority of the representative elements in the country were favorable to the basis for negotiations which they had submitted. But by far the most important testimony of general approval was secured at a meeting of the remaining members of the Legislative Assembly convened to confer with the delegates on September 16. Of the forty-nine members who were present on that occasion, forty-five recorded their votes in favor of the proposals. Two abstained from any expression of opinion, and only two voted in opposition. Two other members who had been unable to attend in person wrote to express their concurrence with the project, which thus received the support of forty-seven out of fifty-one surviving members.

At the same time, while this general approval was recorded, further interpretation of certain particular points was invited, and the hope was expressed that the Delegation would on its return to London obtain definite assurances on these points. The most important of these was the universal desire for some definite indication that the Protectorate would cease to exist with the conclusion of the treaty of alliance.

Concluding Interviews with Egyptian Delegates in London

The four emissaries returned from Egypt to Paris early in October, and there rejoined Zaghlul Pasha and their other colleagues who had remained in Europe. At the end of the month the whole party, again accompanied by Adli Pasha, once more came to London and had two further meetings with the Mission, at which the four emissaries related their experiences in Egypt, and the resulting situation was discussed. It was apparent from the statement of the emissaries, confirming as it did the reports which had already appeared in the press, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the terms of the proposed settlement had been well received by the Egyptian public, and that the determined attempt which was at first made to excite opposition to them had ended in complete failure. At the same time, the emissaries did not fail to impress upon us that the general approval of the settlement was accompanied, on the part of the Egyptians with whom they had conferred, by certain reservations, and that they had been instructed to try and obtain modifications of it on several points. What they chiefly desired was a limitation of the functions of the Financial Adviser and of the British official in the Ministry of Justice; the abandonment of the provision of Article 5 of the memorandum—that the coming into force of the contemplated treaty between Great Britain and Egypt should be dependent upon the previous conclusions of agreements with the Powers for necessary modifications in the regime of the Capitulations; and, above all, the formal abolition of the Protectorate. Some other points of minor importance were also raised, and it was evident that, if all these matters were to be gone into again, we should reopen the whole of the discussion in which we had been occupied for the greater part of the summer. This was a course in which the members of the Mission were unanimously of opinion that it would be perfectly useless for them to engage. As we pointed out to the delegates, any agreement arrived at between us and them could not in any case be final. All we could do was to pave the way for the official negotiations, which must be subsequently undertaken, if the idea of a treaty on the lines which we had been discussing commended itself to British and Egyptian opinion. The points now brought forward might all be raised in the official negotiations, as other points no doubt would be on both sides, and for us to try and anticipate a decision upon every detail, while it would certainly delay the commencement of those negotiations, might also seriously prejudice their successful conduct.

The point of view of the Mission was summed up by Lord Milner in a statement which he made at the second meeting of the delegates on November 9. It was to the following effect:

"It seemed desirable to have this meeting before the departure of the Egyptian representatives in order to clear up the situation and leave room for further cooperation between them and the Mission in the future.

"The report, which the gentlemen who have lately returned from Egypt have brought back to us, seems to indicate that there is a great body of opinion favorable to a settlement on the basis outlined in the memorandum of August. On the other hand, they state that there are several points in the memorandum which they desire to modify and several fresh conditions which they wish to add to it before promising their unconditional support. It is not necessary for me to dwell upon these points today, because the Mission are unanimously of opinion that no good purpose would be served by a further discussion of details at the present stage.

"The memorandum never professed to do more than indicate the general lines on which an agreement could be arrived at. In any case, as we have always foreseen, the agreement itself, if it is decided to proceed with it, will have to be the outcome of formal negotiations between duly accredited representatives of the British and Egyptian Governments. In those negotiations the fresh points which you have brought forward as the result of the visit of some of your number to Egypt can be raised, as other points may be raised on one side or the other. It would be impossible and undesirable to exclude any proposals not evidently inconsistent with the spirit of the agreement outlined in the memorandum, which on the face of it requires elucidation and elaboration before it can be converted into a formal treaty. It would in our opinion not facilitate a settlement if we were to anticipate these discussions; therefore we think it wiser to refrain from any expression of opinion on the new points recently raised by you at the present time, though we believe that a satisfactory solution can, and will, be found when regular negotiations can be undertaken.

"What is far more important at the present stage than any further discussion of details is to influence opinion both here and in Egypt in a sense favorable to a settlement on the lines which we both favor, and above all to cultivate and strengthen by every means the spirit of friendship and mutual confidence which our conversations here have helped to engender, but which must become general on both sides if our efforts are to lead to the desired result. As far as this country is concerned, we hope that the presentation of the report of the Mission, which we are anxious to complete as quickly as possible, will conduce to that end. But it is equally important that a similar effect should be produced in Egypt by your endeavors. We gratefully recognize how much you have already done in that direction. But it is evident that there is still opposition to be overcome, that there are great numbers of people in Egypt who are not imbued with the spirit of the agreement, but are for one reason or another hostile to a good understanding between Great Britain and Egypt. They are, or profess themselves to be, suspicious of the intentions of this country, they do not recognize the generous spirit in which Great Britain is prepared to meet the aspirations of the Egyptian people. In so far as you are able to dispel this suspicion and misunderstanding and create a better feeling you will be doing more than can be done in any other way to bring about the settlement which we all so earnestly desire."

To this statement Zaghlul Pasha replied in a speech, the gist of which was that while he was as anxious as we were to help create an atmosphere favorable to a settlement, he would be greatly weakened in his efforts to do so by being unable to give any promise to the Egyptians about the proposed reservations, and specially by being unable to say that Great Britain had finally repudiated the Protectorate. To the latter point he returned again and again, and he subsequently reiterated these views in a letter addressed to Lord Milner.

This was the last of our interviews with the Egyptians, who all left England shortly after it. It is only necessary to add that the tone of our discussions remained throughout of the most friendly character, and that at parting, though no final agreement had been reached and both sides remained uncommitted, we certainly gathered the impression that, reservations or no reservations, public opinion in Egypt had been very favorably impressed by the terms of the proposed settlement, and that most if not all of the delegates were hopeful of its ultimate complete acceptance by their countrymen, and anxious to bring it about.

IV. General Summary

In view of the complicated nature of the subject, and the length to which our report—though we have striven to omit all unessential details—has necessarily run, we desire to recapitulate the main features of the policy which we now recommend, and the stages by which our conclusions have been reached.

When we arrived in Egypt we found a general state of unrest and discontent. The rebellion had been suppressed, but agitation was undiminished, and among an extreme group still took dangerous and violent forms. Everywhere the demand was for "complete independence," beginning with the abolition of the "Protectorate," which was construed as implying the extinction of Egyptian nationality. To justify this inference, the Nationalists pointed to the refusal of the British Government to permit Egyptian Ministers to come to London after the armistice, to the deportation of Zaghlul Pasha and his associates, to the increase since the war in the number of British officials, and to the continuance of martial law. At the same time the enunciation of President Wilson's fourteen points had aroused widespread expectations, and the promise of self-determination to other Eastern peoples whom the Egyptians thought inferior to themselves had added to their discontent. Religious feeling had also been inflamed by the defeat of the Turks and the doubts and uncertainties as to the future of the Caliphate.

On the British side the situation was full of difficulty. A

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

large number of experienced officials had been lost to the service since the beginning of the war and their places taken by new men who knew little of the traditional system by which, in the days of Lord Cromer, British control was maintained without wounding Egyptian susceptibilities. The work of the Administration during the war deserves the warmest acknowledgment, but it necessarily entailed a certain subordination of Egyptian to British interests, and the employment of rough and ready methods likely to be resented by a people whose sympathies were not actively engaged on our side. When the war ended, many of the old landmarks had disappeared and there was a break of continuity with the past. Martial law had become necessary, not merely to maintain order, but to carry on the civil government; the "Agent-General" had become a High Commissioner who was also Commander-in-chief, and though Egyptian Ministers continued to hold office, the Legislative Assembly was suspended. The Administration in these circumstances had to be carried on in the teeth of almost universal opposition, affecting even the official class, upon which the Government had to rely for a large part of its executive work.

We soon came to the conclusion that this situation could not be met by any return to the pre-war system or by any reforms of a merely departmental character. A more radical change was required to meet the new conditions. But the agitation against the "Protectorate" had greatly increased the difficulty of finding any acceptable policy which would satisfy the Egyptians while securing British interests. The word "Protectorate" had become a symbol of servitude in the minds of the Egyptians, and they insisted that it must mean what they said it meant. Argument on this point was wholly useless, and it thus became evident to us that, unless we could get on to new ground, it would be impossible to reach a settlement by agreement.

Fortunately the informal conversations which we had with leading men in Egypt encouraged us to hope that such a settlement was not impossible on new lines. They said with one accord that, though they objected to having an inferior status imposed upon Egypt by the British Government, they would welcome a treaty of alliance freely entered into on both sides, which, while establishing the independence of Egypt, would give to Great Britain all those safeguards and guaranties which the Protectorate, as we understood it, was intended to secure. The greater part of our subsequent work lay in examining this possibility, and our aim throughout has been to find the basis of a treaty which should supersede all debates about words and phrases, and be the sole and final definition of the relations of Great Britain and Egypt.

There is nothing new in the recognition of Egyptian independence by Great Britain. Throughout our occupation we have most carefully respected the theory that Egypt was a national unit under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, and when we abolished the Turkish suzerainty we deliberately chose to proclaim a Protectorate in preference to annexing Egypt or making her part of the British Empire. We have constantly renewed our promise of self-government for Egypt. We are of opinion that the fulfilment of this promise cannot be postponed. The spirit of Egyptian nationalism cannot be extinguished, and, though it may always be possible to suppress its more violent manifestations, the government of the country in the teeth of a hostile people who charge us with breach of faith must be a difficult and distasteful task, alike to those who take part in it and to the British people who are responsible for it.

But there are formidable difficulties in the way of any sudden or complete transfer of all the powers of government to Egyptian hands. There are essential British interests to be upheld; it is also imperative to insure the safety and protect the rights of the large number of foreign residents whose presence in Egypt differentiates her position from that of other Eastern countries and greatly complicates the problem.

The essential British interests are that the great Imperial communications which pass through Egyptian territory shall not be jeopardized, either by internal disturbances or foreign aggression; that they shall be available in time of war, and for necessary purposes in time of peace; that the struggle for ascendancy in Egypt between rival Powers shall not be renewed; and, finally, that an independent Egypt shall not pursue a foreign policy hostile or prejudicial to that of the British Empire. It is therefore necessary that any treaty entered into between us and the Egyptians should secure the special position of the British representative in Egypt, enable us to maintain a force within Egyptian territory for the protection of our Imperial communications, and take adequate security that Egyptian policy shall be in line with that of the British Empire.

The protection of foreign rights presents a problem of even greater complexity. These are at present secured by the Capitulations. But the Capitulations are the greatest of all the disabilities from which Egypt now suffers. The multiplicity of jurisdictions arising out of them, and the facilities which they give to men of uncertain nationality to escape from the local jurisdiction greatly complicate the problem of law and order; while the exemption of foreigners from direct taxation, other than the land and house tax, cripples the Government in raising revenue, since it is in practice impossible to impose on Egyptians taxes from which foreigners are exempt. Thus, although the wealth of the country is rapidly increasing and its resources are now ample for all the needs of good government, the Administration has for some time past been compelled to starve essential public services, such as education and public health. During the war it has only been possible to raise sufficient revenue for the auxiliary police (*Ghaffirs*) by a special tax imposed under martial law.

It was evident to us that, without the removal of these restrictions, no Egyptian Government could enjoy any real independence. To leave an Egyptian Ministry to struggle with conditions which threatened to bring the present administration to a standstill would be to foredoom it to failure. We foresaw that, if the Capitulations were maintained, the Egyptian Government without British support would in all probability be exposed to a competing pressure of foreign influences, which might paralyze its action. It was therefore clearly in the interests of Egypt that the Capitulations should be removed and the Mixed Tribunals reorganized so as to enable them to take over the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts and to act in criminal as well as civil suits affecting foreigners. But this could only be effected through the mediation of Great Britain, and Great Britain could only expect to succeed in inducing the Powers to part with their present privileges, if she were in a position to assure them that solvency would be maintained and that the lives and property of foreigners would be secure. Our efforts were accordingly directed to securing for Great Britain such a position as would enable her to give this necessary assurance. In order to achieve this object, it is necessary that any treaty should provide for the right of Great Britain to intervene in legislation affecting foreigners and to exercise a certain measure of control over those branches of the administration which most directly affect foreign interests.

Subject to these safeguards for the special interests of Great Britain and the protection of foreign rights, we hold that the Government of Egypt should be restored in fact to what it has always, during our occupation, been in theory, a government of Egypt by Egyptians. We have sufficient faith in the reforming work of the last forty years to believe that such a course can now be followed with a good prospect of success. But it must be adopted wholeheartedly and in a spirit of hopefulness and sympathy. Nothing would be more likely to lead to failure than to overload this policy with an excessive number of timorous restrictions, which would obscure the principle of Egyptian independence, create suspicion as to our real intentions, and defeat our main object—the reestablishment of mutual good-will and hearty cooperation between British and Egyptians.

We make no attempt to conceal our conviction that Egypt is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not yet in a position to dispense with British assistance in her internal administration. But the Egyptians know this, and when once the responsibility is clearly theirs, they will be slow to dispense with such help from us as is essential to the prosperity and good government of their country. They will be all the slower to do so, because under this system it will be impossible to attribute any failure that may occur to British dictation, and because the good work of British officials in the future will redound to the credit of the Ministers who are wise enough to retain them. Moreover, the whole atmosphere will, in our opinion, be completely changed when the Egyptians are satisfied that the purpose of British policy is to help them to realize their ideal of independence and not to stand in the way of its attainment. We are greatly fortified in that belief by our own experience in dealing with the representative Egyptians with whom we have come into such intimate contact. Once convinced of the sincerity of our intentions they showed every readiness to appreciate our point of view, to recognize the special interests which Great Britain has in Egypt, the debt of gratitude due to her for her past work in that country, and the indispensability of her future help in maintaining its integrity and independence. And we are not discouraged by the fact that they were not all as yet prepared to commit themselves unreservedly to every point in the settlement which they had collaborated with us in devising. We make no doubt that they are wholeheartedly in favor of the main features of the settlement and that they are anxious to secure its acceptance by their countrymen. And, as far as we can judge, public opinion in Egypt is moving decisively in that direction. There is a sensible diminution of the bitter feeling and violent propaganda which were recently so prevalent, and the country is anxious to settle down. The moment is favorable for placing the relations of Great Britain and Egypt on the satisfactory and enduring basis of a treaty which will at one and the same time establish the independence of Egypt and secure the essential interests of Great Britain. It will be an undoubted advantage to Great Britain to have those interests carefully defined and placed beyond challenge in a treaty accepted by the Egyptians, as it will obviously be an advantage to Egypt to have her integrity and independence guaranteed by Great Britain. We therefore strongly advise His Majesty's Government to enter without undue delay into negotiations with the Egyptian Government for the conclusion of a treaty on the lines which we have ventured to recommend. It would, in our opinion, be a great misfortune if the present opportunity were lost.

MILNER,
RENNELL RODD,
OWEN THOMAS,
CECIL J. B. HURST,
J. A. SPENDER.

Egypt's Position

AFTER the publication of Lord Milner's report, Zaghlul Pasha, head of the Egyptian Delegation, made public for the first time the text of a draft treaty submitted to Lord Milner by the Egyptian Delegation on July 19, 1920. A summary of this treaty has appeared in England, but the full text, printed below, has never before been published. Lord Milner rejected these proposed terms in a letter addressed to Zaghlul Pasha on July 22, but they are still held by the Delegation to represent the Egyptian Nationalists' minimum demands.

1. Great Britain recognizes Egyptian independence.

The Protectorate proclaimed by Great Britain over Egypt on December 18, 1914, and the British Military Occupation are ended; Egypt thus recovers complete internal and external sovereignty; she will form a constitutional monarchy.

2. Great Britain will withdraw her troops from Egyptian territory within a period of ———, dating from the execution of the present treaty.

3. In exercising her right to dispose of the services of English officials, the Egyptian Government agrees to extend to these officials the following favor: (except for dismissal because of age limit, physical unfitness, disciplinary reasons, or expiration of contract) the dismissed official shall be entitled to a supplementary compensation of one month's salary for each year of service. This favor will be extended also to officials who voluntarily leave the service of the Egyptian Government within a period of one year dating from the execution of the present treaty.

4. In order to lessen the inconveniences of the regime of capitulations, Egypt agrees that the rights of capitulations actually exercised by the Powers shall be exercised in their names by Great Britain in the following manner:

(a) Additions and modifications in the regulation of Mixed Tribunals shall be subject to the consent of Great Britain.

(b) All other laws which can be invoked against foreign capitulaires only with the consent of the Powers, or by a suitable deliberation of the Legislative Assembly of the Mixed Tribunal or of its General Assembly, will be rendered effective against them by a decree issued to this effect, except in case of an objection on the part of the British Government communicated to the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs within a period of ———, dating from the publication in the Official Journal and based exclusively on provisions of the law which have no equivalent in any legislation of the capitulatory Powers, or if, in case of a financial law, the duty there established produces inequality of treatment between Egyptians and foreigners.

In case of disagreement between the two nations regarding the just basis of this objection, Egypt can submit the question for decision to the League of Nations.

5. In case of suppression of Consular Courts and the allocation to Mixed Tribunals of the repression of crimes and offenses committed by foreigners, the Egyptian Government agrees to name a magistrate of British nationality for the post of Attorney-General of the Mixed Tribunals.

6. The British Government declares itself disposed to consider with the Egyptian Government, at the end of fifteen years, the question of abolishing interference with the territorial sovereignty of Egypt by legislative and judicial immunities of foreigners. Egypt reserves the right, should the occasion arise, of bringing this question before the League of Nations after this period.

7. In case of abolition of the Commission of the Public Debt Egypt will name, upon the nomination of Great Britain, a high official whose duty it will be to exercise the powers now held by the said Commission of the Debt.

The said high official will be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for all consultations or missions in regard to finances which he would care to handle.

8. Great Britain can, if she considers it necessary, establish at her own expense, on the Asiatic bank of the Suez Canal, a military post to aid in repulsing any future attack on the Canal by a foreign Power.

The limits of this military zone shall be fixed later by a commission composed of an equal number of military experts of the two nations.

It is understood that the establishment of this post does not confer upon Great Britain any right to intervene in the affairs of Egypt; it can not affect in any manner the sovereign rights of Egypt in the said zone, which will remain under the authority of Egypt and ruled by its laws, nor interfere with the powers granted to Egypt by the Convention of Constantinople of October, 1888, relative to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

Ten years after this treaty takes effect, the High Contracting Parties shall examine the question of whether the maintenance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of this post has not become superfluous, and if the responsibility for safeguarding the Canal cannot be left to Egypt alone. In case of disagreement the question shall be brought before the League of Nations.

9. In case Egypt, which has the right of diplomatic representation, should not consider it necessary to name an Egyptian representative in a country, she shall confide the care of Egyptian interests in this country to the representative of Great Britain, who will act according to the instructions of the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

10. The High Contracting Parties conclude by the present treaty a defensive alliance with the following objects:

(a) Great Britain agrees to cooperate in the defense of Egyptian territory against all aggression by any Power.

(b) In case of aggression against the British Empire by any European Power, even if the security of Egyptian territory is not directly threatened, Egypt agrees to lend, on her own territories, all facilities for communication and transport to Great Britain for military use. The forms of this assistance shall be determined by special agreement.

11. Egypt agrees, moreover, not to conclude any treaty of alliance with another Power, without previous agreement with Great Britain.

12. This alliance is concluded for a duration of thirty years, at the end of which the High Contracting Parties may consider its renewal.

13. The question of the Sudan will be treated in a special agreement.

14. All provisions in all other treaties relating to Egypt that are contrary to the clauses in this treaty, shall be considered null and void.

15. The present treaty shall be placed at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, to be registered there, and Great Britain declares her consent regarding the admission of Egypt to the League, as a free and independent state.

16. The present treaty shall go into effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications between the High Contracting Parties.

Ratification by Egypt shall take place after the treaty has been approved by a National Assembly, which shall be convened for the purpose of voting the new Egyptian Constitution.

Decrees and Laws
of the
Mexican Government

A number of these interesting documents will be published in the International Relations Section of next week's issue of **The Nation**. Some of the more radical of these are:

Law establishing free ports.

Reduction and education of the army.

Cooperative land enterprises for soldiers.

Manifesto from army officers demanding land colonies.

Money
means
Power

Make Money
and increase
Your Power
to do good

Write for particulars
Desk 47, Circulation Dept.
The Nation
20 Vesey Street New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED